

AN
A P P E A L
TO THE
Commons and Citizens
OF
L O N D O N.

BY
CHARLES LUCAS,

The last Free CITIZEN OF DUBLIN.

O! Liberty! O! my Country!

ADDISON'S CATO.



L O N D O N:
PRINTED in the YEAR
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AN
A B E P A D
TO THE

Commons of the Cities

London.

MUSEUM
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NICUM



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APPÉA L, &c.

My Fellow-Subjects and Friends!

W HEN I wrote the annexed Preface and dedicator Address, prefixed them to the Work dedicated, and had them presented to the chief Magistrate of your City, I thought I had finished my Course, though I might not have boasted of having fought a good Fight: I then threw aside the political Pen; because I saw nothing further for me to do in mine humble Sphere, nor any Room to hope for good Effects from my passed Labours. And being wearied, and almost worn out, with long incessant Toils and Watchings for the Health of the Body politic, I betook myself to obtaining the means of preserving the Body natural. Then, finding myself divested of the Freedom of mine own City, rendered a Citizen of the World at large; and, after visiting some Parts of the neighbouring Continent, finding no other Place, that offered me so much true Liberty, so many of the real Comforts, with so few of the Inconveniences of Life, as *London*, I chose it at once for my Residence and Sanctuary.

I was not mistaken in my Choice: With due Gratitude, I acknowlege having received many Instances of your Favor and Bounty, exceeding any Thing, my Portion of Pride or Avarice could prompt me to hope.

Under such Obligations, it must have been ungenerous to want a just Sense of them, or an Ambition to be found worthy of the Regards of good Men. I must say, I sought and ever shall seek for Opportunities of proving this Disposition: But, have had the Mortification to find, as yet, few or none offer.

B

M.Y.

My Sollicitude to shew mine Intentions made me anxious to know what Reception the following Papers met with in the Common-Council. I soon learned how they were disposed of, and take this Method of informing you; because I apprehend, you are not less ill-treated, than I am upon this Occasion. However, I shall for a while suspend mine own, and submit the whole to your Judgment.

After I was forced to fly hither for an Asylum from the Tyranny, then raging like an horrid Pestilence in mine ill-fated Country, and found no Means here, to which a Man of any Sense of Honor or Freedom could stoop, of stopping or mitigating its Progress, with Respect to myself; I determined to prosecute the Study of Physic Abroad, to which I had devoted all my vacant Hours here, as well as before my Banishment.

But judging, that those, who already sacrificed every Sense of Religion, Morality and Laws to injure me in every tender Point, and who, to give their shameful and iniquitous Persecution some Color of Justice, attempted to blot my little Share of Reputation with the foul Charge of Disaffection and Disloyalty to the present Government; I first layed my Case and myself open to one of his Majesty's Secretaries of State, with the onely Request of being taken and treated with the utmost Rigour of the Laws, if any legal Accusation was, or might be layed against me.

Not contented with this, I resolved to deposite a fuller Testimony of mine Innocence and Loyalty, in the Hands of the City of *London*. I now found I had made every secret and avowed Enemy of our happy Establishment, to whom my real Character became known, mine implacable Foe; while I was not able to perceive the slightest Mark of Favor or Clemency from any of the few real or numberless, pretended or imaginary Friends of the Establishment. Yea, I found that a too open Avowal of my political Principles soon lost me the Countenance of some powerful, promising great Men in the City. No Man could have been more oddly circumstanced! My pernicious Persecutors in *Ireland*, by representing me as a disaffected Person, procured me the Countenance of the deluded Men of that Cast, till they saw their Mistake. After which, they became my bitterest Enemies, But, this Folly was not confined to *London*. For, in the first Town in this Kingdom, at which I arrived after mine Exile, it was disputed, of which of the nominal Factions I must be a Member. The Generality believed what the Tools of the Ministry in *Ireland* had thought fit to represent.

present. The few, that read my Papers, thought otherwise. Even the Clergy were divided upon the ridiculous Question. One reverend Levite, remarkable for a zealous Attachment to his Party, most precipitately, quitted the House, in which I happened to take Lodgings; not venturing, as he sayed, to tarnish his Reputation, with his Friends, by living under the same Roof with a violent Whig. Another, the Curate of the Parish, would not visit me a second Time in my Sicknes, though frequently sollicited; and at length, severely chid the Landlady, who called upon him, for bringing him to risque the Loss of his reputation by visiting, and praying by, such an abandoned Tory and Jacobite. And thus I might have wanted a christian minister to converse with, were it not for the good Sense and Humanity of a Gentleman, who does Honor to his Function, as well as to his high Rank.

Thus you see, no Subject can be too insignificant for the Attention of factious Men! Thus have I been hauled out of my peaceful Obscurity and held out to public View, in the Light that every outrageous Faction chose to place me! And thus has my Character been banded about from mighty Ministers of State and their Substitutes, to Basha Aldermen of Cities, and hackney Justices, and even to starving Country Curates!

Ambition is the noblest Passion, that warms the human Breast, when it is directed to the proper Ends. The Love of Fame is a Vice or a Virtue, as it is founded upon this or that Quality. I own myself ambitious, to obtain the Approbation of sensible, honest and free Men. I confess, I thirst for nothing more than the Establishment of a fair Reputation, with Men of the same Cast. But, as neither can be acquired from any other than virtuous Motives, the seeking them with ardent Zeal, upon these Principles, can never be deemed a Crime.

Two Objects, I confess, I had in View, when I wrote the following Preface and Dedication, and presented, or attempted at different Times to present, them to you, through the Hands of your chief Magistrates. The one was to give you an Idea of the Sufferings of your Fellow-Subjects and Friends, I might have sayed, your Offspring or Brethren in the Kingdom of *Ireland* in general, in the City of *Dublin* in particular; in Order to inculcate the proper and necessary Cautions against the Time of Need: The other, to vindicate mine own innocent, but much injured Reputation. Had I not held you in the highest Estimation, in Point of

Integrity and Judgment, I could not have thought of being at that Trouble or Expence, more than at this. I hope I shall not find myself mistaken.

Laying pitiful Self aside, let me ask you were my Fears groundless or my Cautions unnecessary? How happens it, that nearly about the same Point of Time, new Demands, I had like to have sayed, new Incroachments, if common Fame speaks Truth, have been made, or attempted, by several of the Governors under our Crown, as well in our several Colonies in *America*, as in the Kingdom of *Ireland*? Had these Attempts fully succeeded, might we not have Cause to dread a despotic, instead of a free, popular, Government in those Settlements and that Kingdom, in some future Time? And, what evil Consequence may not, some Time, be apprehended from the evil Spirit that attempted such a shocking Change? Who has authorised these daring Men to attempt these horrid Innovations? Have the evil Machinations been evaded? Have the Contrivers of them been punished or called to Account? Has any body had public Spirit, true Patriotism enough to take Part with the Oppressed? Has any Man given cautionary Hints of the wicked Designs? Have these been taken and applied, rejected or suppressed?— You are interested in these Questions and the Answers to them. It is fit you should know the Obstacles to your Information. I hope it will be found, that I discharged my Duty to you, in mine humble Sphere.

I could not have been conversant enough in the Affairs of our *American* Colonies, to have pointed out the Schemes layed to disturb their Peace and sap the Foundation of their civil Liberties. But, had you been permitted by your Magistrates to have received the cautionary Information I gave them, with relation to the Affairs of *Ireland*, your Countenance might possibly have helped to prevent the Shocks given that unhappy People, by certain Men in Power, whom I am not permitted to name. I would have warned you of a Pestilence raging on your Coasts; but your wife Magistrates prevented it, and seemed not to seek its being prudently circumscribed or kept at a Distance, much less to wish its being timely cured.— Mark well the Consequence:

The Ruler, who succeeded him, that wrought my Ruin, judging, that a Parlament, which could condemn to Ignominy, and banish the only Man, that dared to assert the natural and legal Rights of his Country, must be qualified to perpetrate the foulest Deed, that Malignity could prompt; feared not introducing a Clause into a Bill, the very next Session

Session, that gave or acknowledg'd in the Crown, a discretionary Power over all present and future redundant Funds in the Treasury; though after the Exigencies of State, for which they were calculated, were satisfied, the Surplus must unquestionably have reverted to the Donors, by every Principle of common Sense and Equity. He was not disappointed: The same Tools that banished me, without any Opposition or Debate, without Hesitation or one dissenting Voice, passed a Bill, which not onely left, or confessed, the public Treasure at the Disposal of the Crown, in this and all future Times, but changed the very essential Form of an Act of Parlement, by introducing, in the Preamble of a Bill, the Consent of that Estate, that is not to be supposed to know any Thing of a depending Bill, before it be passed in due Form, and presented to be ratified by the Royal Assent, in the Presence of the two other Estates, that constitute the Legislature. What might have been intended by this Clause, I shall not presume to determine. It needs no tedious Commentary: It appears very obvious. Happily we live under a Prince, who cannot be supposed to use a Power, however obtained, to the Prejudice of his People, or in any Instance abuse it. Yet, sure no wise, no virtuous Parlement would give up so essential a Part of the Privileges of them and their Constituents, leave the public Treasure at the Mercy of any future rapacious Minister, or receive the Dictates or Consent of the Crown to the bringing in or debating a Bill, to the framing an Act of Parlement! Such notwithstanding was the Iniquity or Infatuation of this Parlement; they, like the poor Remnant of the *Gallic* States, still retaining the Name without any of the Essentials of a Parlement, agreed to receive the Consent or Permission of the Ministry to debate upon and pass a Bill, under its Sanction and Direction; as the others are constrained to register Arrets of the Crown, not otherwise. And thus at once gave up the Freedom of Parlement and the People's Right to the Redundancies of public Money, after the Exigencies of the State are served; And shamefully subscribed to the illicit Dictates of the Ministry!

Is this to be wondered at? No; it is the necessary Consequence of their Condemnation of the first Man living among them, that shewed, that their Parlement was free as that of *Britain*, and had by Law and by Right the same Authority, Privilege and Power, within that Realm, as yours has within this. Had that been allowed by the *Irish* Parlement, which they should at the Peril of their Lives and Fortunes

Fortunes have maintained ; what Minister would have been hardy enough to prescribe such shameful and destructive Terms to them, as giving up at once the Rights of both People and Parlement, which in more wise and virtuous Times would have been deemed one and the same ? But he, that asserted the Rights of both was voted an Enemy to his Country ! proclaimed as a Rebel ! His Principles, of Course, must have been condemned. It was confessed, with Cox, that they had no political Constitution ; that all depended on the Will of the Minister. This became therefore the sovereign Law, and it was deemed a sufficient Honor to the Parlement, to be called and consulted to register it in Form ; and they, humbly contented, and fully payed, did so.—Can *Britain* look on this unconcerned ? What Pestilence, what Rebellion can look so dreadful, so formidable ? —If that Parlement may not be entrusted with the Government of that People, upon the Principles of the *British* Policy ; can *Britain* in Prudence, with any Assurance of her own Preservation, see the essential Form of Government reversed in a neighbouring, confederate Kingdom ? A Kingdom united in Interest, as well as under the same common Head with you ? Will it not rather be more wise and just, while any Sense of Liberty remanes among the People to intitule them to inroll with the Family of *Britain*, with the same Care to rescue them from domestic as from foreign Destruction, and unite them effectually, as *Scotland* has been, with this Kingdom ?

Of this, you will judge better from the consequent Conduct of a subsequent Session. In the last, all Things went on as smoothly and uniformly as any Minister could expect. The Reason is obvious ; every Tool of the Administration was gratified with Pensions, Places, or more potent Promises. Not a Mouth was left unstopped, that was presumptuous enough, or even able to say No, against the Direction of the Court. No unpleasing Question could be carried, no favorite Question lost, in an Assembly thus documented, thus influenced. It therefore required but a little Steadiness, with some Portion of modern Court Cunning, to hold the Reins, and turn the ambling Palfry, as the Rider listed.

The Nag in Question was pretty tractable ; required neither Whip nor Spur. He ran the Pace required readily ; and had contynued probably to do so still, were it not for some few Irregularities in his Keeping. Slack Reins, high Feeding, and little Exercise, is enough to spoil the best managed, the best

best bred Horse. The ill managed, and unbred, bear it still worse. After such a Course, these are most apt to run resty. The best Carriers keep their Beasts of Burden well muzzled, that they may not by stopping to feed any where, but at the Places appointed, risque the Damage of their Loading. Our Pack-Horses had done extremely well with this Management. But the Carrier's Man spoiled the leading Horse and all the Followers. When the Beasts were tardy or sullen, he sometimes rid and sometimes walked before the Gang, with a Truss of Hay and a Bag of Corn, which he held in the View of them all, and of which he gave them all Hopes to share. Now and then he gave the Bell-Horse, and a few more of those that kept closest to him, a Wad of the Hay and a Mouthful of the Corn, to encourage them, and to stir up the others to emulate their Pace. These at last gained so much of the Man's Confidence, that he took their Muzzles entirely off, and left them a discretionary Power to eat and to drink where they would, provided they kept their Followers in Order.

This injudicious Course could not long answer with *British* Pack-Horses, much less with *Irish* Garrons *, who are generally more intractable, though much cheaper kept. It is not reasonable to imagine, that Cattle permitted long to go without Reins and Muzzles, and frequently trusted to the Care of the leading Beast only, could bear again to be curbed or muzzled, stinted in their Allowance, and drove harder into the Bargain. This being done, what was to be expected?—That such Cattle would take the first Opportunity of disappointing the Carrier and his Man; that they would stop short in the Midst of their Journey, and in full Career break the Bands, and cast their Burdens to the Ground.

The Passions of Men and Brutes bear great Analogy. While the Leaders of the *Irish* Senate were pampered by the Ministry, while they and their Creatures were possessed of all the Places of Profit and Trust in the State, with all their Emoluments and Perquisites, what Trouble, what Opposition did they give the Administration?—What could the Ministry direct, that they were not ready to carry into Execution?—What Commands were layed, that were not implicitly received and passively obeyed?—I say, what I am ready to prove, none, that the Ministry thought worth inflicting upon. The leading Men were never then ashamed of being called Courtiers, Whigs and Courtiers became synonymous

* An *Irish* Horse, or Jade.

nymous Terms. All were contented. All was well; very well.

What broke the Connection of this long Chain of ministerial Tranquility?—Two or three different Factions contending for Precedency and Power, divided the House of Commons. The Government judged they might avail themselves of these Divisions, and extricate themselves out of the Hands of their Managers. The Powers, which for a long Time were left in the Hands of the Speaker, without any Controul, since the Time of that too short-lived Lord Lieutenant, who scorned to govern by the Influence of Party or Faction, or by any Means, to keep up Distinctions, that had long broke and disunited the People; these Powers, particularly that of naming Governors and Sheriffs of Counties, and approving Magistrates of Cities and Boroughs, too much to be trusted in a single Hand, and too much to be given up by any one at once, were abridged, if not wrested out of the Hands of the Speaker, and lodged in Hands where they were thought safer and more for the Purposes of the Government. And all this, while others of the leading Men were at the same Time disappointed in their Hopes, which are more easily raised to the most extravagant Pitch in *Ireland* than any where else in the World: For, a Parson's being told by a facetious Lord Lieutenant in his Levee, that he would make a good Figure in Lawn Sleeves; a Lawyer, that he would look magnificent in a Judge's Robes; or private Gentlemen, that they or their Sons would become a Pike or a Troop of Horse; or the dignified senatorial Soldier, that he well deserved a Regiment or a Staff; upon shewing the Splendor of the outward Trappings of these Places, and asking how Bishop such an one, Judge such an one, Captain, Colonel or General such an one did, who were perhaps indisposed, or reported to be indisposed for the Purpose; such Compliments and Enquiries never were known to fail passing with the Dupe for a Promise, or gaining a Vote for the Court, in *Ireland*.

When the Power was thus wrested out of the Hands of Mr. Speaker, and a few other leading Men were at the same Time offended, the Consequences may be easily foreseen, which without this previous Consideration might seem wonderful. Angry Men consulted together. Hot Spirits chafed and heated one another. Each determined to make his Consequence known; which more effectually to atchieve, an Union was brought about. Since the Days of the *Irish* Apostle, *Patrick*, no Conversion like this was known in the

the island of Saints. Had Employments and Claret been known in *Ireland*, in the Time of that venerable Missionary ; if he had had none in his Power, he never could have made so many Proselytes with the utmost Force of his Mission, seconded only by cold Water.

Now, Courtiers confessing their Sins, making Professions of a new Faith, and changing their Appellations to that of Patriots, were universally baptised in Claret. Solemn Leagues and Covenants were made, not with the Lord, but with the People. Nothing was to be done without them. Therefore a popular Question must be started ; which if the Court had happened to have foreseen and omitted, the new Converts had never made the Progress they did ; they had never assumed the captivating Title of Patriots ; the very Name of which had still layen dormant in accustomed Contempt and Obscurity, in that Island.

Now, Clubs and Confederacies were to be universally formed by the Infant Patriots, and more than clerical Anathemas were to be pronounced against Courtiers of all Ranks and Denominations. No Character so sacred, on this Side the Question, was to escape the blackest Calumny. The foulest Reproach was poured out indiscriminately on all ! But all this was only grumbled in the Dark ; till like an immature Earthquake, gathering Force by Degrees ; when all the Fuel was collected and prepared, it was by some lucky Spark to be set on Fire, in order to burst forth in an overwhelming, consuming Volcano, in the Midst of the next Session.

The Session was opened without any new Demands from the Throne. The usual Supplies for the Establishment were alone offered to the Consideration of the Senate. And whatever Jealousies and Discontents, between the Governor and the disobliged Chiefs, might have been raised ; there was no visible Reason to apprehend that the usual Supplies would not have been granted ; or that any Thing for which there was a recent Precedent could be opposed in Parlement. The Crown was universally, confessedly beloved, revered, and boundlessly confided in, at all Times. Who could suspect any Retraction, when no Offence from that Quarter could be pretended or insinuated ? Who could think a Court-Indicted Bill for disposing of the publick Money, passively received and unanimously passed in the last Session, should, though in the same express Form and Words, be not only opposed, but rejected in this ? But what will not Infant

Patriots,

Patriots, New Converts do to prove the Sincerity of their Conversion ?

The Session opened with visible Sparrings and Heart-Burnings of opposite Parties. They tried their Strength upon some Questions of less Importance. And the Chiefs had Reason to apprehend they wanted but to give any Question the Sanction of Popularity to carry it as they wished.

Upon the Increase of Luxury in that poor Kingdom, there had been about this Time a considerable Increase of Imports, which necessarily raised the Revenues so far beyond what had been calculated for the Support of the Establishment, that a Redundance of some Hundreds of Thousand Pounds, over and above all the Exigencies of the State, arose, was collected, and now lay in the Treasury : Whereas, the Nation, upon some former Emergencies, was forced to run in Debt. The Application of this Surplus to the Payment of the National Debt could not fail of being an interesting popular Question. Courtiers and New Patriots, or Anticourtiers were, unfortunately for the Schemes of the latter, agreed in this Point. But, the former layed no small Stress, and indeed with greater Reason than ever, upon the inserting the previous Consent of the Crown to the Disposal of that Money in the Preamble of the Bill, as it had the Precedent of the last Session so strongly, so recently in its Favour. Sensible honest Men would blush to have made Concessions to the Miniftry, to have given Powers to the Crown in one Session, without Opposition, and to retract them the next, without being able to assign some rational, some new Cause. But, blushing is out of Fashion — in *Ireland*. The previous Consent in the former Bill had hurt all sensible, honest and loyal Men. Without the Sanction of such, an Opposition could be of no Weight. Therefore regardless of their passive Obedience, or in their own Language, their Unanimity, in passing the Bill with the previous Consent in the last Session ; they set themselves with all their Force, without Doors, as well as within, to reject a Bill now brought in for the same Purposes and couched in the same Terms ; though not a Word was formerly to be offered against the Reasonableness, Expediency or Equity of inserting the Consent of the Crown in the Preamble of a Bill, no more than if that were essentially necessary to the framing or passing such a Bill. But now the new Patriots were inspired, and having, by Accident, Truth and Justice on their Side, offered Arguments, which though they were weak and insufficient enough to shew all reasonable Men, that the new Converts were prompted to give Opposition

sition onely through private Pique, and that they were onely by Accident in the Right, not knowing how far; notwithstanding, their Reasons were enough to overturn those of Courtiers, who seldom have any better Motives to urge for their Conduct than the Will of the Minister, and who foolishly or wickedly think themselves generally bound to make and hold all the Incroachments possible upon the Rights of the People. The Words implying the previous Consent were rejected by an inconsiderable Majority, by the Agency of a Set of Gentlemen, who, so far from having ever before been known to oppose the Will of the Minister, never had any Contest heretofore known among them, but who should have the Honor and Emolument of carrying his Commands into Execution. And had the same soothing Means been continued as heretofore, this Opposition and Rejection had probably never been heard of.

The Novelty of having a Patriot Question carried there had like to have made the Populace mad all over the Kingdom, but especially in *Dublin*. And though it was with Difficulty some warm Spirits were prevented imbruining their Hands in the Blood of some of these very Men, whom they looked upon, from their Treatment of the City in the last Election and Return of Members, as the worst and most inhuman Assassins of their Country; the Citizens in Crowds went to compliment them, and, forgetting their just Resentment, now reposed the utmost Confidence in them, payed them the utmost Veneration. They presented them with Gold Medals, as a Reward and Encouragement to what to them bore the Semblance of Virtue, with which they had been long unacquainted.

Had you, Gentlemen, been permitted to read the Papers I attempted to lay before you, the true State of this Controversy had then been clearly open to your View. It does not fall within my Sphere to examine the Measures or Motives of the Administration in *Ireland* or *America*. Let the proper Judges enquire from what Sources they must have sprung. But, you will surely indulge my Sollicitude to vindicate myself to you and to the World. Permit me then to shew you of what Weight the Censure of the Commons passed upon me must be deemed from their general Conduct.

The Government could hardly have suspected, nor did the Chiefs ever imagine, their Opposition could have been carried to the Length it was. Each thought at first to frighten the other into Compliance. The Ministry probably did not think any Men would run the Risque of losing their Places:

And they were right ; for, the Placemen never intended to risque any Loss ; they onely thought, that by shewing how they might thwart and embarrass the Administration, to enhancē their respective Values, that their Places may be rendered more secure, and their several Emoluments restored. This is evinced by the Event.

The Court, perhaps relying too much on the Promises of promise-fed Minions, was quite unprepared for a Disappointment, and therefore could not brook it. Its Indignation was let loose against the Chiefs and their Adherents, even to their remotest Kinsmen, and upon their Non-compliance with the Terms proposed, the Parlement was suddenly prorogued, and the Ring-leaders of the Opposition were all stripped of their Places and Pensions, not sparing those, that had purchased Promotion in the Army or civil patentee Employments.

These Measures of the Court gave general Discontent. And those that were gratified with the vacated Employments, were not of Weight enough to support its declining Influence, or to skreen it from the bitterest Reproaches and Calumny of the Multitude. It was, indeed, impossible to justify the Proroguing a Parlement in the Midst of a Session, the greatest Part of the public Business left undone, and when several Bills, that had passed through all the Forms, waited only for the Royal Assent.

These afforded the displaced Chiefs specious Arguments for inflaming the Minds of the Populace against the Administration. They cried out against the Loss of several Bills, as well as that, that provided for the Payment of the national Debt ; particularly, one for the better securing that Branch of Trade, on which the sole Support of the Kingdom now depends, the Linen Manufacture ; another for the extending and maintaining the Charter-Schools, those Seminaries of Religion and Industry in the Kingdom. These carried weighty and unanswerable Reflections on the Ministry and its Partisans, who could offer in their own Defence no better Arguments, than their Fears of the Fury of an enraged Tory Faction, who could not therefore be too soon dispersed, or by any other means so effectually, as by a sudden Prorogation. The Chiefs complained, with some Reason of the Hardships thrown upon them ; while they saw themselves universally Mis-represented, and, as they had room to suspect, to the Ears of Majesty, without the Means of vindicating their own Affection and Loyalty, or of laying the true State of the Kingdom and this Controversy before the

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the Crown. Indeed, whatever may be said with respect to their Affection ; it seems no loss to them to be kept from entering upon the Controversy ; a Task, to which the whole Tenor of their Conduct proves them unequal.

Whatever Credit the Administration might have gained upon this Occasion in *England* ; it lost very much in *Ireland* ; and in Proportion as the Court fell there into Discredit, the Anti-Courtiers, who chose to be known by none other Appellation, than that of the Patriots, gained the Favor and Confidence of the Public ; even some of them, who had long been Infamous for every base Prostitution, and had become so odious to the Populace, as to have lived some Time in perpetual Dread of the Mob ; by their Behavior upon this Occasion, artfully regained the Countenance of the deluded Multitude in general, of the Citizens in particular.

Now, the Masque was thrown off on both Sides. The Patriots formed Clubs and Associations all over the City and Kingdom. They were set up and looked upon as Martyrs for the Interest of their Country. This gained them the most unbounded Confidence. While it so disturbed the Tranquility of the Realm, that Parties and Factions were stirred up in all Ranks, from Men of Quality and Fortune, to trading Citizens. The Fury possessed the Minds even of Hackney-coachmen and Chair-men, who refused driving or carrying, those that were pointed out to them as Courtiers ; for, every Man, that was not in all Points with the Patriots, was marked out as an Enemy to his Country. These Feuds caused a general Inattention to Trade, from the Highest to the Lowest. Most of the circulating Cash of the Kingdom got into the Treasury. And as soon as Demands from Abroad came, for Payments for their foreign Luxuries, the Bankers were not all found able to answer their Bills ; whence Numbers of Bankruptcies ensued, and the whole Kingdom was thrown into inexpressible Confusion and Distress.

In the Midst of this general Shock, the Lord Lieutenant did all that was possible to support the public Credit. He gave Orders, that the several surviving Bankers Notes should be taken as Payments in the Treasury. For this he got the Thanks of the Citizens. But, his Antagonists, who endeavored by every Means to throw the whole Blame of the general Distress upon him, would have made this extraordinary Extension of Power, though done to save the Nation, a capital Crime.

Sometime after the Prorogation, the greatest Part of the surplus Money in the Treasury was ordered to be layed out by the King's sole Authority. It is true, it was applied to the Payment of the national Debt. But, though this was done agreeable to the Sense of the Parlement, as it was not done by their joint Authority, it served to raise a new Accusation against the chief Governor; who soon after returned to *England*; leaving the Speaker out of the Government.

Now, strict Vengeance was denounced aloud against the whole Court. The Chief was threatned with nothing less than an Impeachment, for Numbers of imputed Crimes unfit to be recited, as they can be supposed to have no Foundation, till they are legally proved. They endeavored to fasten one shameful Crime upon his Excellency; that of raising at errible Mob; and this upon no better Authority, than some Hundreds of Fellows, with an hackney Justice at their Head, armed with Cutlasses and Sabres, attacking another Mob, and carbonading a few of them. Some of the former Mob, it is true, being taken, it was hard to find a civil Magistrate in the fallen City, who would presume to take Examinations against them, when the Arms found upon them, bore the King's Mark, and appeared to have been taken out of the Arsenal. This however was greatly magnified by the Patriots; but in the End, deemed no Proof; for a righteous Court could not be wanting in *Ireland*, at the Nod of Power, to acquit the Rioters; or if found Guilty, they might without any Noise, be afterwards pardoned.—All is venal,—in *Ireland*! But, the Pity of it! The Terror of it, My Friends!

Another great Officer, we were assured by the Patriots, should be expelled the House, for attempting to corrupt Members of Parlement; a Crime never yet complained of in *Britain*; and for exacting exorbitant Fees of Office, which he very civilly, most courteously refunded, as soon as it was detected. Before a *Middlesex* Jury, this would carry some Proof. But sometimes, Juries, as well as Parlements are Deaf, Blind, and Lame,—in *Ireland*.

A third, whom the Patriots thought fit to blacken with every Crime, that could render an Object detestable in the Eyes of God or Man, when his Enemies were forced to confess him as good a Bishop, and as good a Landlord as the Archiepiscopal See had known in our Days, without being able with any Color of Truth to

to prove any of their foul Imputations; was to be stigmatised with every odious Mark, and for ever kept out of the Government; when the Worst of his Crimes, upon due Examination, appeared in fact to be no more than a strict Attention to the extending the Power and Influence of him, to whom he owed all he possessed, and for that Purpose, exercising it, as far as possible in the Absence of his Principal; permitting his late Coadjutor, the Speaker, to share as little as may be of the Authority or Emoluments of the Office. This abused Man was foremost in my Persecution. I cannot be supposed Partial to him. I cannot be his Friend. But, I cannot do even an Enemy Injustice; nor see him suffer Wrong, without Pain.

And a fourth was to be called to a most strict Account, for paying Money out of the Treasury, a sacred Fund, not appropriated to any particular Purpose, without the Authority of Parlement. And many more Grievances were most loudly complained of, with solemn Assurances of parliamentary Redress.

Libertas et Natale Solum, was the Motto of a great Man's Arms, whose Memory is gibbeted to perpetual Infamy, by the immortal *Swift*. Liberty and Patriotism are of all others the Masques, under which Men can most effectually, most fatally wound the credulous Community. Had I lived in Peace and Safety in *Ireland*, I confess, I might have been taken in by such Declarations, as were openly, universally made by these new raised Patriots. They were enough to deceive the very Elect. But, as a scalded Cat ever after dreads cold Water, I could not, at a Distance especially, repose much Confidence in the Party; though towards the latter End, I sometimes layed aside my Suspicion, and found myself inclined to believe and hope, they were in earnest, as far as I thought them in the Right. Some I am sure were both. How the Multitude stood, judge from the Sequel.

Had my Papers been permitted to come before you, when I presented them; you would have been able to see how these Matters stood; you must have learned the true State of the Case of *Ireland*, and have been able to judge how far you were interested in them. Had an Earthquake overwhelmed the Capital, which of you would not have been shocked at the Recital? — Had a raging Pestilence arose, and swept off Multitudes of the Inha-

Inhabitants of that Kingdom ; which of you could have slept supinely in his Bed ?—Or, if a foregne Enemy had invaded and ransacked the Country, or some evil Spirit stirred up a Rebellion there, and overturned the establisht System of civil Government ; is there among you a Sot so infesible, as not to be alarmed ? I must judge not ; unless you Convince me of the Contrary. Think then is any of these an Evil so dreadful, as the overturning the civil Constitution ? If this should by any Means be effected, or onely in danger of being done ; who that deserves the Name of *Briton*, could be so slothful as to sit still unconcerned ?—I hope the Breath of such a Slave does not contaminate our free, wholesome Air ! And for my Part, I should think myself unworthy of the Blessings, I enjoy in this Land of Liberty, did I withhold my Thoughts from you upon this interesting Occasion. Apply them as your honest Hearts direct. I must be forgiven, if to ease mine own Breast I deliver my Sentiments.

Now, permit me, for my private Vindication, to recapitulate the principal Proceedings of this long-lived, this perennial Parlement in *Ireland*, in order to shew the true Weight of their Censure, as well as the Danger of letting a People under the same Crown, and common Form of Government with us, degenerate into Slavery.

In 1749, the mighty Managers, the Undertakers of *Ireland*, the very Men, that lately assumed the Sacred, though abused, Name of Patriots ; persecuted the Author of these Papers for asserting the Rights and Liberties of the People, and the Privilege and Power of Parlements ; in short, for vindicating the political Constitution of that Country, as well as of this ; condemned him without Evidence and unheared ; declared him an Enemy to his Country ; in order to prevent his Election, which they knew could by none other Means be obstructed. And ordered him to close Confinement in a common Goal ; and afterwards gave him up to rigorous Prosecution under mercilefs, not to say, lawles Judges, in an inferior Court, which was not to be presumed to dare to differ in Judgment from the superior Tribunal, where he was already, though without Trial, condemned.

The same Session, they voted Mr. *Digges La Touche* unduly elected, who was elected upon the same Interest, that would have returned the Author, by a considerable Majority of unquestionable and indeed unquestioned Voices ; in order to make Room for a Petitioner, who was so far from

from being able to prove any of the Allegations of his Petition true, that every one of them was generally known and partly proved the diametrical Reverse, by the very Evidence of the Petitioner. The zealous Citizens honored the Minority in this interesting Question, with Gold Medals.

So far did the House adopt and persevere in the Sentiments of their worthy Agent and Member, Sir *Richard Cox*; to wit, that *Ireland* had no political Constitution, but the Will of the Minister, to which the Parlement and People were bound to pay implicit Observance; that, in 1751, they passively, if not voluntarily, received the Dictates of the Ministry, inserted in the Recital of a Bill, setting forth the previous *Conge* or Consent of the Crown to frame and pass such a Bill, in the Preamble, before any of the enacting Clauses. And therefore thus tacitly agreed to give up the People's Right to the surplus Money in the Treasury; acknowledg'd it to be in the Crown alone; suffered the essential Form of an Act of Parlement to be altered, and agreed to register the Dictates or Edicts of the Minister! — What Parricides could have gone further?

If all this were right, I must have deserved the Condemnation, pass'd on me and now not onely recorded, but published in the printed Journals of the House of Commons; who asserted the contrary alone to be lawful and just, in the Papers by the Parlement condemned, and suppressed by your Magistrates. But, before the next Session, mine Accusers changed their Judgments, and in fact acquitted me; in effect, though undesignedly, repealed their iniquitous Sentences pass'd upon me, by embracing my political Doctrines, by rebuilding upon the Plan, the very Foundation of the Building I had lay'd; which before, the *Goths* had ruined. If the Parlement of *Ireland* was not a free and competent Legislature for that Kingdom, as I asserted, by what Authority did they presume to oppose the Ministry, even under the Sanction of the sacred Name of Majesty? If they had no political Constitution, but the Will of the Minister, as *Cox* set forth, which Heaven for *Britain's* Sake forbid! why should the Commons presume to censure a Servant of the Crown, in 1753; to expel him the House, though as much as possible protected by the Minister? Why dare to reject a new-constructed Bill, framed or dictated to them by the Ministry, under the reputed Sanction of the previous Consent of the Crown, especially after they had pass'd it in the identical Words, the preceding Session? Why threaten the Impeachment of a very great Minister? The Censure and Expulsion of his Son? Why universally receive

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Compliments and Congratulations for their Patriot Spirit, and their just Opposition to detested Measures ? Why pocket the second set of Gold Medals presented by the mistaken, bigotted Citizens ? And lastly, if they have no Power or Authority, but what they derive from the Will of the Minister ; why have they this Session stipulated for the Exclusion of a Vice-Minister from the Government ? And for the Restoration of the vacated Places or withdrawn Pensions of the late Chiefs and their Agents, or proper Equivalents for their Losses under the late Administration ? And above all, if they have no parlementary Power, why have they all gained what they severally contended for, their private Ends, Places, Pensions, Reversions, Precedence, Pre-audience, &c. &c. to the total Suppression of all Complaints against every Part of the late Administration, which they before so industriously blackened and so clamorously threatened ? — Are these Things so ? — And do they not demand the Attention of *Britons* ? — Who would not rather see any Part of the *British* Dominions possessed by a foregne Enemy, than enslaved under the Color of *British* Laws ?

These Matters do or they do not deserve the Attention of the Citizens of the Metropolis of *Britain*. Who shall judge whether or not ? You are in your Sphere a Body politic, constituted much upon the same Principles with that of the great Body politic of the Nation. However wise, however excellent the Head or first Estate in our national Government, he is not intrusted to judge for the other Estates, though he be impowered to execute the whole System of Laws agreed to by the two other Estates. The same Rule of Reason and of Law binds alike the Small and the Great.

Hence, judge by what Authority, several successive chief Magistrates of *London* took upon them to judge for the whole Community and to reject and suppress, as much as in them lay, a Book addressed and dedicated, as well to every individual Member, that composes the Council and the Corporation of the City, as to the Head.

Give me Leave to inform you of the Manner of attempting to deliver this Work to your Community and the Persons to whom I delivered it. Perhaps I was wrong and gave it into improper Hands ; for so the Event would seem to argue.

Before I went Abroad, the Book not being then printed, I waited upon the Lord Mayor in the Year 1750, upon the 17th of *March*, and presented him with a manuscript Copy of the following dedicatory Address. He received me with Politeness and Hospitality, and gave me to understand, he would lay it before the City.

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I directed a Friend, as soon the Book should be published, to present a Copy in an elegant Binding, according to my Promise, one to the Lord Mayor and one to each of the Sheriffs. It was accordingly done.

By this Time, that Magistrate had read the Manuscript, was, or seemed to be moved by the Contents of it, in a political and an humane Sense; enquired courteously for my Health, and wished me a safe and speedy Return, expressing a strong Desire to serve me.

Upon my Return, I waited on this Gentleman, assured the Book had been presented to the Commons in some Assembly; when to my Surprise, I found none of the Commons had ever seen or heard of it; but, to lessen the Injustice, with Respect to me, I had it returned and sent Home to me. The Gentleman did not choose to give me his Reasons, if any he had, for this Slight. It is to be hoped, he will hardly refuse giving you the Satisfaction, if you think it worth while to demand it.

At the same Time, the then Sheriffs were attended and presented each with a Book. One of them was with great Difficulty perswaded to accept of it. It is hard to suppose an Officer of this Eminence surprised at the Sight of a gilded Volume of the Size. Yet it is certain, the Gentleman seemed afraid to accept of it. But, at length being assured, there was no Harm meant, nor any Thing expected in Return; he vouchsafed to accept of it. I suppose it has served him for waste Paper since. It is possible the Titule Page frightened him from reading further: For, I have met with no Body, that learned the cautious Sheriff's Sentiments upon the Subject.

The other, with Respect and Gratitude, let me ever remember it! politely accepted of the poor Present; generously expressed his Concern for the hard Sufferings of the Author, and with Difficulty was prevented shewing his Generosity and Munificence upon the Occasion, in more than Words. He reads the Book and pities and applauds the Author; while he humanely feels much for the Disasters of his Country. And thinks the Liberties of *Britain* now less secure, than when those of *Ireland* remained unshaken.

When the Book was thus returned by the late Lord Mayor, without considering that he thereby intercepted a Letter or Address to the other Members of the Community, to which he was but for a while the Head or Precedent; I could not help expressing my Surprise at finding any Magistrate in a free City assume so much unauthorised Power. I spoke of it to some Friends, who hinted, what I could not before have credited; that there was a Spirit prevalent in a certain Faction

in the City, so averse to any Thing, that favored of Revolution Principles, that I should hardly find a Man at the Head of the Affairs of the City, that would presume to countenance any Thing of that Kind. Not being well able to conceive such Extravagance in so sage and venerable a Body, as I took the Elders of the City to be, I resolved to push the Trial further, and as soon as I returned from a medical Tour into the Country, I waited on another Lord Mayor, who received me with great Civility. I told him the Story and Fate of mine Addres; he expressed his Surprise, that he had never before heard of it. I presented his Lordship with the Book. He politely accepted of it and sensibly said, " He was but a temporary Magistrate; and that though now placed at the Head of the City; he could do nothing unadvised. He was unacquainted with Matters of this Kind; but, he would speak to some of his Brethren concerning it; and desired I would dine with him on a certain Day in the next Week, when the Recorder, the Sheriffs and Aldermen were to dine there, whose Sentiments I should then hear upon the Occasion."

It is easy to conceive, how I must have received so prudent and so polite an Answer. I could not neglect attending at the Time appointed, and after a very elegant Entertainment, the Subject of my Book and Dedication were introduced. It appeared a very obscure Matter to the whole Company. Some appeared, as I believe they were, Strangers to it. Others looked as if they did not wish to see or hear more of it; while others seeming quite regardless, fumed away their Tobacco in Silence. The Lord Mayor, after giving me an Opportunity of telling my Story, and informing them of my Sentiments and my Desire to have the Book publickly presented to the Corporation of the City in a general Assembly or Common Council, thought it just to submit the Matter to the Judgement of the great Counsellor of the City, the Recorder. His Brethren of the Board seemed of the same Opinion, and I was so far from dissenting, that my Vanity was pleased at the Book's being offered to the Examination and Judgement of a Man, that I must have presumed prudent, learned and well affected to those Principles of our Government, that brought about the present Establishment; because, I must have supposed him elected by a free and loyal People. Pray Heaven! I was not mistaken in either!

This learned Gentleman, desiring to see the Book, I told him, I should present him with one. I accordingly sent it to him. And waited upon him several Times after, without being

being able to obtain the Honor of Access to him, or learning by any other Means, than his Silence, his Opinion of the Matter. Thus unfortunately have I generally mistaken Men! I must suppose, I do not stand well in the Judgement of this sage Counsellor of yours; or I should some way have heard of it. It is yours to enquire, if you think it worth while. Mine Intentions keep my Conscience calm; and this, none external Accident shall shake.

As I became, by my Residence among you, acquainted with several Characters in the City, I could not be surprised, that a Collection of Papers, written upon revolutionary Principles, with a dedicatory Address, in which some Men were vindicated from the scandalous Imputation of such a disaffected and disloyal Temper, as they did not dare publickly to avow, nor secretly, in their dark Factions, deny; should be affiduously suppressed by all Men of that Cast, that feared nothing so much, as the bringing their Sentiments to Light, to the Test of Common Sense and Truth.

But, who could suspect, that a Man, whose Administration in the great Office of high Sheriff of your City, shewed he dared to discharge his Duty, without regarding whom it should please or displease; the Man, whose Conduct in that Office demanded and obtained most honorable Mention in this very Dedication, should also use his Diligence to suppress and prevent its ever coming into the Hands of those very Men, who for his Virtues set him at the Head of their Affairs? Who can hear of such a Character without Concern? Who can believe, that JANSSEN is the Man?

Perhaps, I think the Omission of greater Importance, than you may. I am sorry we should differ. For mine own Vindication and your Information, I must, tho' with Reluctance, relate the Fact as it stands.

From the general Character of this Gentleman and some slight Acquaintance with him, I was persuaded, he was a Lover of his Country and an Advocate for the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects of *Britain* without Distinction, without any of the low, contemptible Regards of Parties or Factions. Such he appeared to me; such I believed him.

You, upon these Principles, as I must suppose, till you convince me of the contrary, justly called this Gentleman to exert his Talents in an higher Sphere, that of your chief Magistrate. All good Men, that I know, in the City, applauded your Choice. I rejoiced at it.

Soon after he was inducted to this most honorable Office, I payed my Respects to him. And judging my poor Performance not disagreeable to his political Principles; I presented

sented him with the Books returned to me by one of his Predecessors ; told him their Fate and my Desire to have them layed before the City through his Means, and my Hopes of their proving, though a small, an useful and acceptable Present.

So little was this Gentleman in the Secrets of his Predecessors, or so insignificant was this Matter deemed, that he acknowledged with Surprise, he had never before seen one of the Books or heared them spoke of in the City. He gave me to understand, that he would peruse them carefully, and in case he should not meet with something that might make it improper in him, that he would present them.

Conscious of the Purity of mine Intentions, as well as assured of a Correspondence in our political Principles, in our Notions of the Duty of Governors as well of the Rights and Duty of the governed, I readily agreed to his Perusal and Examination of them. He was pleased to honor me with a general Invitation to the Mansion-House. I waited upon him in about a Month after. He sayed, he had not yet had Time to go through them ; but that he should soon. I urged the present Situation of the Affairs of the Kingdom of *Ireland* in general, of the City of *Dublin* in particular, and the Necessity of giving the City of *London* some Information in these Matters. He repeated his Promise and his Invitation. Both of which I took to be serious. In Consequence whereof, I waited some five or six Times afterwards upon his Lordship ; but never could obtain the Honor of Access to him, nor that of any Kind of Message from him ; till I called upon him a second Time after he was out of his Mayoralty. Having met him, I enquired the Reception my Papers met with, not doubting they had been layed before you. But he did not it seems, think it proper to put them to the Test, whether for your Sake or mine, I could not learn ; but, upon my Demand, returned them as one of his Predecessors had done. Thus have all the Means of presenting these Papers, that I could devise, been hitherto marred !

However I might have been surprised at this unexpected Treatment from Aldermen *Janssen*, with Respect to myself, I was much more concerned at finding, what appeared to me a Disrespect to your Community, who were each alike addressed with your chief Magistrate in this Dedication. For, suppose any indifferent Man of a moral Character had presented a Book upon any ordinary Subject, and dedicated it in a most respectful Manner to any Individual, to Alderman *Janssen* for Example ; would it not be incumbent on Alderman

man *Janssen* to accept the Book and treat such a Person with Civility, when Civility was all that was expected or would be accepted at his Hands? I presume, I shall not be answered in the Negative. A Community then, a Body politic, is bound by the same Rules of Justice and Reason with an Individual, in all Respects. This and every other Lord Mayor had undoubtedly a Right to pass his Judgement upon this or any other Dedication addressed to you; but, not before it was presented and submitted to the Judgement of the Whole; and then he could have had onely a Voice, perhaps not that; for a Majority on either Side can determine any Question without his Interposition. How far then he could have had a Right to pass HIS Judgement upon the Whole FOR You, and to treat the Person contemptuously, who addressed you with all Respect and Veneration; how far he represented the City in this Instance, I submit to your Judgement; for the obtaining of which I now publish this Appeal.

Thus once more, contrary to my determined Purpose, have the Circumstances of the Affairs of *Ireland*, and the Behavior of your Magistrates, obliged me to touch again upon a Subject, which I think demands the Attention of every Man, who is endued with any Sense of Liberty, or any Regards for the common Subjects of our Crown; and which I onely through Despondency had dropped.

Mistake me not, Gentlemen; my Hope of succeding in any public Matter is not at all raised. My Opinion of the World is not much mended. I am sensible, there never was known in these Islands less public Spirit, less true Patriotism, than in these Days, in which my Lot is cast. I see with an aching Heart, Immorality and Irreligion, Contempt of the civil Power, a general Insensibility and Disregard to the present and future Good of the Public so universally prevale; that I must believe the Hearts of the Community are rendered callous, by the many false Alarms daily given them by the scribbling Partisans of your real, though masqued Enemies, and the various unexpected Shocks of Disappointments from the Conduct of your pretended Friends in Office. I do not apprehend, that there is Sense and Virtue enough in the Generality to discern and distinguish the true from the false Prophets; and therefore, I can not imagine, that they should become true Believers, though a *RUSSEL*, a *SIDNEY* or an *HAMPDEN* rose from the Dead.

But, while there is any Sense of public Virtue left, it behoves every good Man to attempt to cherish and to propagate it. Whilst I lament the general Decay of that noble

public

public Spirit, that once distinguished the *Briton*, like the *Roman*, from the Rest of the World, giving each alike envied and dreaded Preeminence; I must confess, I have seen among some of you, such Remnants of this Spirit, as, if they may not raise mine Hopes of a general Resurrection, demand at least my tenderest Regard and most profound Veneration.

I remember the Comforts I received by your Feelings for the Outrages committed upon the People, in the Treatment given me in *Ireland*. And I can never forget the extreme Generosity, with which you offered me noble Supports under the Shocks of Adversity, I had then suffered. I well recollect the Horrors some of you expressed, upon the Representation made by the Ministry of *Ireland*, while you were thereby induced to believe the Opposition given there to have arisen from a Spirit of Disaffection to the present Establishment. I must well remember the Hopes and Joy, that some of the deluded Men of this Cast conceived and expressed from the Prospect of such an Opposition's serving their destructive Purposes; whilst you, upon hearing the true State of the Case, exulted upon seeing these Gleams, these Dawnings of Liberty and public Spirit in that poor Country. Many of you must remember the Pains I often took to set your Judgements to rights, when you toasted the opposing Commons and the noble Peer that headed them, and in general looked upon them as so many true Patriots.—Did I not often shew you Room to suspect them every Man?—Did you not plainly see the secret Springs of all their Actions?—Were not the Strings and even the Man behind the Curtain, that set the pretty Patriot Puppets in Motion, layed open to your View? You saw my Letter to the Patriot Peer upon this Occasion. You wanted but Assurance of his having received it to be persuaded, he could not have been in earnest. I now can tell you, he did receive it; but did not choose to answer it. But, you were too few, compared to the whole Community, before whom these like Matters should be layed open; therefore, I think it right to lay these Matters thus briefly, publicly, before you; and if you should not judge it right, with Respect to you, I shall still have the Comfort to find it right with Respect to myself: I shall do my Duty to you and to the whole Country, in which I enjoy all the Comforts of Life, and so disburden mine own Conscience. As to the Event, for that I am not answerable; that I submit to the wise Dispensations of Providence.

You

You must not imagine, that with Regard to myself, I can be very sollicitous for the Reception these Papers meet from you and the Public in general. The Satisfaction of doing the Thing, I judge right, has a Charm for me, that none other Consideration can equal. I have Nothing to ask, nor any Thing to fear, for myself. The Goods of Fortune have none Alurement, nor Adversity any Thing dreadful, in mine Estimation. In my Profession, I can have no Favour to ask ; because I can suppose no Man, however connected to me in Friendship or Alliance, absurd enough to employ me, upon any other Presumption, than my Capacity to serve him. And my Views can not be factious ; because I never yet saw among you any Faction, or any Party, with which I could connect my self ; or whose bare Name I could bear, without Reproach. The Scope of my Design is to discharge the Duties of my Sphere in Life, regardless of whom it should please or displease. For my religious Principles, I am answerable onely to Heaven. My political Tenets have long since been layed open to you all ; if they have not reached your Hands, this shews you, it is not my Fault.

The sole Reward, I wish for any Labors, I ever did or shall take for the Public, is the Approbation of good Men. I flatter my self, mine Intentions, however weak my Performance, intitule me to this Recompence. Whatever procures the Love or Friendship of the righteous, must bring on the Hatred and Enmity of the froward and designing. It is easy to judge from these Lines, in which Class I hold the City of *London*. It is yours to prove whether I am right or wrong. I can extend my Benevolence to the remotest of those Creatures, that bear the outward Form of Man : From this, mine Enemies, or even the brute Creation, can not be excluded. But, I can enter into the Bond of Friendship with good Men alone ; or those that I look upon as such : For, I may be, and have been, often deceived by Appearances. I scorn to flatter you, or the first of Men. I think well of you, and wish to be well with you. Whenever I am induced to think otherwise, I shall as readily let you know it. I have no Request to make to you, but that you will freely and dispassionately examine these Papers, and dispose of them, as humane, benevolent, and public spirited Hearts direct ; and though the Performance should be found insignificant or unworthy in your Sight ; your distinguishing and paying a due Regard to the Intention, which is none other, than promoting the mutual and inseparable Honor and Happiness of our Sovereign and his Subjects to the remotest Extremes of

our Dominions ; must ever secure your Community that Portion of Respect and Veneration, which has already induced me to declare, and as far as in me lay, to prove myself,

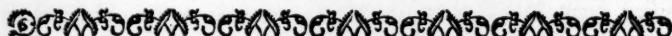
My much honored Fellow-Subjects and Friends,

Your most affectionate and most faithful

*London, Dec. 1.
1755.*

Friend and Servant,

C. L U C A S.



P O S T S C R I P T.

THE Titule of the Volumes, to which the annexed Preface and Dedication are prefixed, runs thus ; The POLITICAL CONSTITUTIONS of Great Britain and Ireland, asserted and vindicated ; the Connection and common Interest of both Kingdoms demonstrated ; and the Grievances, which each, more especially the later, with its Capital, has suffered under oppressive and tyrannical Governors, oppressive and lawless Magistrates, dependent and iniquitous Judges, and spurious and corrupt Parlements, set forth in several ADDRESSES and LETTERS to the FREE CITIZENS of DUBLIN ; first delivered and published with the sole Intent to detect public Abuses, to revive the original Principles of the Policy, and to restore the constitutional Freedom of Elections in general, those of Members of Parlement in particular ; now republished as a CAUTIONARY INFORMATION to the CITY of L O N D O N, and for the Justification of the Author, CHARLES LUCAS, a Free Citizen of Dublin, while Dublin was ; now an Exile for the Cause of Truth and the Liberty of his Country. — With Additions, an Appendix, &c.

The

The P R E F A C E to the POLITICAL CONSTITUTIONS, &c.

WHEN an extraordinary Censure is passed upon the most insignificant Person, or Writing, the Curiosity of the Public is naturally raised to learn something of what they might otherwise have overlooked, or perhaps, contemned.

This may serve as an Apology for this Republication of the following Papers. The Public demanded it; and the public Demands alone should have authorised it. But besides, the Justification of the Author's Conduct and Character required it; as both had been industriously traduced and vilified by certain Men in Power, and he had been denied all other Means of vindicating and justifying himself. And therefore, these condemned Parts of his Writings are thrown together, as nearly in the same Form and Order of Time, in which they first appeared, as the necessary Correction of some accidental Irregularities, Lapses, and Errors of the Press, would admit, and published to enable the World to judge of the Utility of the Performances, and by them, of the true Intention and Character of the helpless, abused Author.

In order to induce the Reader to make some necessary Allowances for those, as well as many other Defects in these premature Performances, it is fit to inform him, that they were all written in the utmost Hurry and Precipitation; when the Author, between the Calls of his Profession, and the extraordinary Engagements of a Candidate, laboring to restore the lost Rights and Liberties, and to revive the almost-expired Freedom of Election, in a populous City; was not able to allow himself six Hours for Recreation and Rest, upon a Medium, in any natural Day of above fourteen Months successively. During which Time, he was forced to let most of these Papers go to Press, upon one flight, cursory reading, and many of them, without having Time to give them a reading; but, Sheet by Sheet, as fast as they were written, he was obliged to send them to the Press; the Correction of which, could have been no better attended to, than the reading, and for the same Reasons.

These Considerations, it is hoped, will plead the Author's Excuse for common Errors in Stile, or Diction, or in ill-chosen, or unguarded Expressions. He makes none Apology

for such Matters, as he asserts for Facts, or Truth; let them speak for themselves, upon the strictest Examination, that Justice and Candor can admit.

It is probable, it will be expected, that he should, in this Preface, say something in his own Defence, or in Confutation of the Calumnies and Aspersions thrown upon him and his Writings by the Parlement, as well as by private Hands.

But, he humbly apprehends, that, when the Accusations against him are set forth in the strongest Light and fullest Force, every impartial and dispassionate Reader will find them more than answered, in the very condemned Papers. He then, onely desires, that whosoever reads the Condemnation of the Author and his Papers, will learn his real Character from honest and disinterested Men, and read the condemned Papers themselves before Judgement is passed upon either.

The Accusations, on all Sides, trumped up against the Author and his Writings, are very large and voluminous, as well as grave and weighty. I shall recite them in their utmost Force, that the Just and Generous may be able to form his Judgement aright, and to strike a true Balance.

It is judged proper, for Decency, to omit all the groundless Scandal and Invective thrown out against the Author, by every venal, anonymous Slave, that might be hired to put on a Mask, and to assassinate the Characters, as well as the Persons of Men. Therefore, the Proceedings of the Principals in the open Persecution of the Author, under the Color of Law, shall alone be recited, as sufficient for the Purpose.

To begin with the chief Agent in the Prosecution, he that was culled out for the Execution of the Author, and for his performed and intended Services to that Purpose, was afterwards, pursuant to a previous Agreement, made *Collector of Cork*, one *Cox*; he wrote several Papers before and after the Session of Parlement, to which he dared not put his Name, though he fathered them among his *Junto*; he made several Speeches in private Clubs and Factions raised against the Author, as well as in the House of Commons, where his whole Force, though not his Virulence, is summed up in the Complaint he deposited and supported there, upon which, a Committee of the whole House, on the 16th of *October*, 1749, resolved,

I. *That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that the several printed Papers, [complained of, by Cox,] of the 16th of this Month, to wit, a Dedication to the King, a first, a second, a fourth, an eighth, a tenth, an eleventh, and a fifteenth Address to the Free-Citizens and Free-Holders of the City of Dublin,*

Dublin, subscribed C. Lucas, contain several Paragraphs, highly, falsely, and scandalously reflecting on the Lord Lieutenant of this Kingdom, and tending to promote Sedition and Insurrections, and openly to justify the several horrid and bloody Rebellions which have been raised in this Kingdom, and to create Jealousies in his Majesty's Subjects.

II. That it appears, that Charles Lucas, of the City of Dublin, Apothecary, is Author of the sayed printed Papers.

III. That it appears, that the sayed Charles Lucas, has, in some of the sayed printed Papers, scandalously and maliciously misrepresented the Proceedings of the sayed House of Commons, and highly reflected on the Honor and Dignity thereof.

Upon this being reported, the whole House unanimously resolved.

I. That the sayed Charles Lucas is an Enemy to his Country.

II. That the Lord Lieutenant be addressed to order the King's Attorney-General to prosecute this Enemy to his Country, for these his Offences.

III. That for his Breach of Privilege of the House, he be, upon Mr. Speaker's Warrant, committed a close Prisoner to the common Goal †.

I mean not by this, or any Thing heretofore or hereafter sayed to this Purpose, to reflect upon all the Members of the present House of Commons of Ireland. That would be most unjust and unpardonable, when I know, there was not a third, and believe, there was not a fourth of the Members then assembled, and when I am perswaded, there are many uncorrupt and incorruptible Patriots in that House.

Upon these Proceedings, to which, I shall here say no more, than, that the Author was not permitted to hear the Evidence against him, nor to speak a Word in his own Defence, or Justification, the celebrated Lawyer and reputed Patriot, Mr. Stannard *, made a most pompous Harangue, published by an Emanuensis of his, under the Titule of, *The Honest Man's Speech*, in which, he charges the Author

† This Censure is published not onely in the Votes, but in the Journals of the House of Commons; seeming an Obligay, which an honest Man must wish to wipe off.

* A Gentleman chosen by the popular Interest Recorder of the City; but, being shewn in a most unfavorable Light by the Author in many Instances, particularly in a Pamphlet, entitled *Divelina Libera*; found it expedient to resign his Office, to turn Courtier and take the first Thing offered him, the Place of Prime Sergeant, after he saw another stripped of that Employment, for the greatest Crime — in *Ireland*; presuming to be honest and free. His Enmity to the Author is not to be wondered at. Men so opposite in moral Principles can hardly be supposed Friends.

thor with *Temerity, Madness, Folly, Enthusiasm, Uncharitableness, Cruelty, general Immorality, Licentiousness and Sedition*; and justifies and applauds the Conduct of the House against him.

The next Accusation of any Weight, and that with which it may be proper to close, comes from no less a Man than the *great Lord Chief Justice of Ireland*. A Man, who has the Modesty, or Servility, to decline the Titule of his Office, while he exercises Powers utterly incompatible with it.

To set the Means, this *worthy Gentleman* has taken to traduce and ruin the Author, in a proper Light, would require a Volume. But, it shall be confined to the nearest Compass, by touching onely on the most material Points.

It is necessary to observe, that this is the *Chief Justice*, against whose *open and peremptory Denial of Law and Justice*, the Author has complained *, first to the Lord Lieutenant, and then to the King. And though this *high Justice*, upon many Occasions, manifested the Malice and Rancor, he bore the Author; and though the last censured Paper was wrote and published in *March, 1748*; yet, did not *his Lordship* give vent to his persecuting Fury, until he found, that he had not onely the Concurrence of the Commons, the powerful Precedent of the Judgement of a *superior Court*, but also, the Commands of the Lord Lieutenant to prosecute him a-new, in this *inferior Court*, for the same Crimes, for which, the utmost Punishment of a free Subject, that of being *voted an Enemy to his Country*, was already inflicted, in a *superior*.

This *great Justice* found he could not now make his Court more effectually, than by using every indirect, as well as direct Means, to ruin the Author in his Fortune and Reputation. And judging, an *Ipse dixit*, or a bare Insinuation, from a Man of his Authority, enough for this Purpose, he prepared a pompous Speech, or *Charge*, for the first *Grand Juries*, that were to be impaneled before him, after the Lord Lieutenant and Commons had committed the further Persecution of the Author, to *his Lordship's Care*. Of which *Charge*, in order to give his Employers the most manifest Proof of his Zeal, for the Liberty of the Press especially, he licensed the Publication.

It must be confessed, that *his Highness* made no more Mention of the Author's Name, in his *Charge* from the Bench,

* See the *COMPLAINTS of Dublin, 1747*, and the *DEDICATION* of the *City Charter to the KING, 1749*.

Bench, than his *late Master* did, in his Speech from the Throne. But, both took Care to instruct their several *Missions* privately, and by affixing the Name, though clandestinely, to their respective unmeaning and unintelligible Four-traitors, left no Room to their *Tools* to doubt whom they respectively intended to have represented by their dirty Daubings.

Our great *Justice's* positive *Charge* against this honored Object of his Malice, is no less, than daring to *menace the King, and to calumniate and traduce both Houses of Parliament, the King's Ministers, and all Ranks and Degrees of Magistrates*; daring to attempt the general *Subversion of the Constitutions, and to induce Anarchy and Confusion*; publickly declaiming against the *Laws and the Power of the Legislature*; endeavoring to overturn the *established Religion*, and to plant, in it's *Stead*, that of the *Independents*; then by *Insinuations, his procuring an Army to lead on any Emergency he shall think fit, in order to put to Death the Collectors of the Duties of Customs, Excise and Hearth-Money, whom he declares Pirates and Robbers*; and the *Acts of Parlement* they are empowered by, made in Ireland, in the Reign of Charles II. to be *anti-constitutional and void*; or to prevail upon Us to renounce our *Connection with Great-Britain*. And upon his *Lordship's* bare Assertion or *Insinuation* of those Charges against a Person, whom he names no further, than in calling him, several Times, a *most infamous, inconsiderable, and impudent Scribbler, this Impostor, this Seducer, this Garret Scribbler, Mountebank Politician, Political Preacher, &c.* and comparing him to *Lambert Symnel, to Perkin Warbeck, to the pretended Prince of Passau, to Jack Straw, Wat Tyler, Jack Cade, and the like, he procured || several Presentments to be made, as may be seen in the Notes on the Addresses, particularly, Address XII.*

But, the better to complete the Schemes of his *Persecutors*, an *Information* was filed against the Author, in the *King's-Bench*, under the Direction of this *high and mighty Justice*. Here the *Charge* is more copious, stronger shaded, and more deeply colored, though but upon the same Plan and Drawing. In this, the Author is set forth, as a *pernicious, malicious, and seditious Man, of a depraved Mind and wicked Disposition*; charged with intending unlawfully, falsely, maliciously, and seditiously, to *disturb the Peace and Tranquility of the Realm, and to bring the King, and his Government, and Administration of Justice, into Hatred, Scandal and Contempt*,

with
|| By prescribing the Panel, as shall be hereafter set forth.

with his liege Subjects, and to raise Jealousies and Fears, and to stir up and excite Sedition, Discord and Insurrection, in the sayed Subjects. As a pretended Foundation for these Charges, several broken Paragraphs of these Addresses are recited ; such as a Fragment of Address I. Paragraph 4, of Page 1; Par. 2, of Page 2, of Address II. Par. 3, of Page 7, of Address IV. Par. 2, of Page 20, of Address X. Par. 2, of Page 123, of Address XI. Par. 5, 6, of Page 131, Par. 2, of Page 137, Par. 2, of Page 142, Par. 3, of Page 148, which are all charged to have been made, composed and written, by Force and Arms, &c. *

Thus, the strongest Articles of these several Accusations are collected and shewn in the strongest Point of View, in which the Enemies of the Author thought fit to place them. And yet, We shall make no further Defence for him, than to desire the Reader to examine the following Papers, and see whether or no these several Charges be properly founded ; if they be found just, the Author is undoubtedly guilty ; if otherwise, his Persecutors are Guilty of worse Crimes, than those they impute to him, and he, of Course, is innocent. But, if any Man be inclined to know the whole History of this matchless Persecution, and to see a full Vindication of the Author, he is refered to two Pamphlets, one intituled, *A critical Review of the Liberties of British Subjects, with a comparative View of the Proceedings of the H. of C. of Ireland, against an unfortunate Exile of that Country, &c.* the other, *Remarks on the Examiner and Examination of the Critical Review, &c.* the second Edition of each ; the Truth of the Allegations of which, no Man, that dares shew his Face, presumes to contradict.

Now, let the dispassionate Reader determine, upon this Enquiry, whether the Author can be justly sayed to have fled from Justice, in withdrawing himself from an unhappy Country, where Oppression has been authorised, yea, enforced by Parlement ; where the Judges are dependent Creatures of the Government, that gave Orders for his Persecution ; where

the

* To the Honor of the Bar in Ireland, the then Attorney-General, gave it as his Opinion, that there was nothing contrary to Law, in the Author's Papers delivered to him by the then Lord Lieutenant, and therefore declined the Prosecution ; and the onely Tool, that could be found base enough, to embarque in so infamous a Cause, under a dictating, overbearing Judge, was one Robinson ; who for such like eminent Services has been added to the Number of the King's Council in Ireland.

the Benefit of the *Writ of Habeas Corpus* is daily denied the Subject with *Impunity*; and other *Writs of Right* and *Processes of Law*, delayed, denied, or sold, at Pleasure; where the Author can be tried only by *Juries* impaneled by the *Creatures* of the *Aldermen of Dublin*, his *avowed Enemies*, under the *Approbation* of a *Government*, from which, he could not have hoped for Justice or Mercy, and by *Judges*, who have already proved, that they wanted no *Sanction* for *Oppression*; since, their *open Denial of Law* layed the great Foundation for the Troubles, in which the Author has been for some Time involved. It surely could never have been intended by our wise Law, that the *worst of Criminals* should be constrained to stand his Trial by *Juries* or *Judges*, that were even *prejudiced* against him, and much less, by such as were his *declared Enemies*; especially, when *Culprit* is allowed none other *Council* or *Advocate*, than the *Judges*. What Sort of *Council*, the Author might then expect, upon his Trial in the *King's-Bench*, in *Ireland*, may be easily collected from the above recited Circumstances, and by reading this wise *Lord Chief Justice's* fair and impartial *Charge* to the *Grand Juries* of the County and City of *Dublin* †.

But, though it was judged sufficient for a Defence of the Author, to refer the *Chief Justice's* chief Accusation to this Issue, it is hoped, it may not be amiss to take his *Lordship* aside, in order to take a View of the *remarkable Loyalty* and the *refined political Principles* of a Man, in such an exalted Station, that all Persons concerned, may see how worthy he is of the great, the important Trust.

It is not fit to take up the Reader's Time in this Place, with a professed Answer to, or Criticism upon, this *learned* and *elaborate Charge*; which, indeed, does not require such a Trial: For, the Falsehood, Malice, and Absurdity of it, must strike every Reader at first Sight. I shall therefore overlook his affected, pompous Parade, about *Juries* and the *Constitutions*, both of which he sets at nought every Day; nor shall I stoop to animadvert on his many palpable Blunders,

† Since the Publication of these Papers, it has been proved, that this same *Lord Chief Justice* directed the Panel of the several *Grand-Juries*, that presented the Author. And upon the *Sub-Sheriff's* being called to some Account for it; he sayed, he had had the positive Orders of the Court for it, and that he never impaneled any Jury, that was to determine a Matter before his *Lordship*, without his previous *Approbation*, if not *Direction*.

— Oh! wretched *Ireland*! — Heaven keep the spreading *Infection* from *Britain*!

ders, for which he might, and probably would plead Prescription, or on his pretty *litigated* Pun upon *Independency*. I shall only give a small Specimen of the *Loyalty* and *Gratitude* of this *monarchical Judge*, and lay open his political Principles from his own Words.

Speaking of the Laws, p. 4, his Lordship says, *they were made and amended by the Representatives of the People, with the Consent of their Kings, many of whom have been the best, as well as the greatest, Princes in Europe, and like our present Sovereign, have never refused or omitted to do every Thing for the Good of their People.*—This may, for aught I know, be intended as a Compliment; but sure, it is such a Compliment, as would be deemed criminal and made penal in any Man, below the Rank of a *Chief Justice*, or a *Privy Counsellor*;—any where but in *Ireland*.

We have no Evidence of Laws made by the *Consent* or *Affent* of our Kings, but our *Statutes*. In our Courts, no *Statutes* are acknowledged before those of *Henry III.* his Lordship will be hard set to make many out of *twenty-five*, the Number of Kings since *Henry III.* or even out of the whole Number since the *Norman Invasion*, which does not exceede *thirty-two*. How few of these, his Lordship's many, were good Princes, or were sollicitous to promote the Good of their People, let any Man, ever so slightly conversant in History, determine. But, We must not follow his *Lordship's* Example in his Treatment of the Author; let Us keep close to his Words, and without wresting them, We may find his Meaning, where he condescends to have any.— It must be confess'd, his *Lordship* has kept close enough to the Truth, in *Part* of his *Assertion*, whatever he might have done, in his *Comparison*: For, he onely says, *that many of the Kings have never refused or omitted to do every Thing for the Good of their People.*—It were to be wished, his *Lordship* had, in all Points, kept as much within the Bounds of Truth and Consistency, as in this. What he asserts here, can admit of no Contradiction: For, I will venture to challenge any Man, that dare be an Antagonist to this *great Judge*, to point out *one King of England*, antient or modern, that refused or omitted to do *every Thing* for the public Good.—The worst Charge against the most flagitious Tyrant, that ever disgraced the Throne, is not his *refusing* or *omitting to do every Thing for the public Good*; but his *having done many Things*, which he should not have done; and *having left undone many Things*, not *every Thing*, which he should have done. — Why then this base and scandalous *Comparison*? Why is a King, who has, by the Confession

of his most declared Enemies, done *every Thing*, that King could do, and has *never refused* or *omitted* doing any *one Thing*, proposed, for the Good of his People, placed in a bad, or even in a doubtful, Light?—Who then will wonder at finding the poor Author abused, slandered and vilified, in every Page, in every subsequent Sentence of this Charge, when the best of Princes and of Men, is treated no better, by those, who live by his Favor?—If you would know more of this *worthy Judge's* Regard to his King, do not take it from his aukward Attempts to fawn and flatter; but see how he fulfills and keeps his Majesty's Oath to his People of *Ireland*, committed to his *Lordship's* Care and Custody; a remarkable Instance of which, will appear in the *COMPLAINTS of Dublin*, delivered to the *Lord Harrington*, the 25th of *December, 1747*, and afterwards published in *London* and *Dublin*.

But, these are not the onely Instances of Ingratitude, that have been offered the best of Patrons and Princes, by some of his Creatures, which, it is the Duty of every loyal and well-affectioned Subject to expose. Who does not remember the most shocking Combination of some of the Creatures of the Crown, and that at a most critical Conjunction, to thwart and embarrass the Sovereign's Administration, even in the Appointment of his Ministers and Servants? Yet, this, by a surprising Lenity and Clemency, was suffered to pass unpunished! The Part, which the Author of the present deepest Distresses of *Dublin* and *Ireland*, bore in this shameful Conspiracy, though raised by his Prince, from Poverty and Contempt, to Opulence, Rank and Grandeur, will remane, on the Records of Memory, one of the most lasting Monuments of the complicated Infamy of that perfidious and ungrateful Servant.—But, to return to our *good Chief Justice*, to see his political Principles, and his pliant Notions of our Government.

His *Lordship's* Intention and Desire to revive and restore that despotic and arbitrary Power, which was lately found so hateful and intollerable, and, at length, suppressed, not without an immense Expence of Blood and Treasure, in these Kingdoms, shine forth most strongly throughout this Charge, as shall, in an Instance or two, be made to appear from his *Lordship's* own Words.

In p. 6, our *Chief of Irish Justices* assigns, as the principal Motive of our Regard to the Person of the King, *that as the Subject hath his Protection from the King and his Laws, so is he bound, by his Allegiance, to be true and faithful to his Sovereign.*

Sovereign.—Whether this differs in any Thing, but Impropriety or Inelegance of Expression, from the Positions of the, until now, matchless Judges of the weakest, or wickedest Princes of these Realms; even from those, who lately declared the Kings of England, were absolute and uncontrollable *in their Power*; above all Laws; that the Laws were the King's, at his Disposal, and subject to his Construction, Dispensation, &c. I submit to the Judgement of the Impartial. But, to crown those lately revived Doctrines of his Lordship, he tells Us, in the 7th p. that the Persons of King's are in all Monarchies held inviolable.—Who could imagine, that any Slave should presume to flatter, in these Terms? That any Man should dare to revive these exploded Doctrines, which, had they some Time since prevailed, must have absolutely prevented the late Revolution, and marred all the Happiness We enjoy from it's Consequences?—But, let Us examine those revived Marlian Doctrines, by the true Principles of the British Policy, not by the Dictates of servile Temporizers, and see how they will then stand the Test.

Neither this mighty *Justice*, nor any of his puise Brethren, ever attempted to contradict, in Words, however they might, in Practice, have ran counter to, the Principles of the British Policy, set forth in the following Papers; though it is most evident, that this Gentleman is as much a Stranger, or an Enemy, to these Principles, as he is to these Papers, or to the Author: For, though in these, a *Body Politic* be exactly and truly defined; the Relation, every Member of the Community bears to an other, set forth, and the general Constitution layed down, from the best Authority; yet, does this wise and learned Judge, shew or affect an Ignorance of both, inconsistent with the Duty of his Office, and unbecoming this, his gracious Charge. In p. 7, his Lordship pathetically wishes, some of the political Preachers, the Mountebank Politicians, against which he preaches, or at whom he scolds, in a Language, better suited to Billingsgate, than to a Bench of Justice, had at least read Aesop's Fables, and there remembered the War between the Members and the Belly. If this discerning Judge had read and understood these Papers, he must have seen the Moral of this Fable strongly inculcated from Reason and Law, to which he chooses to turn Tail, throughout all the Oeconomy of his Station, as well as in this learned Charge. But, in the Conclusion of this Paragraph, his Lordship assigns his Cause for his Wish, which is, in order to cure those Politicians of their Affection

Affectation of the Religion of the Independents, a *Sect*, which he says, once overturned the whole Establishment, civil and ecclesiastic, and in the End ruined themselves. I should hardly be able to refrene from Laughter, at this mighty *Mock-Politician*, were I not attended with a most melancholy Association of Ideas, upon reflecting, that the Lives and Liberties of mine unhappy Countrymen, are exposed to the Insolence, Ignorance or Caprice of this *worthy Judge*. How unfit, a Man, so ignorant of History, as well as Law, so inconversant with these Papers, which he pretends to explane and judge, or, so regardless of the unquestionable Truths they contain, must be to judge of them, or the Author, let any Man of common Sense determine. Let Us now see what REGARD he pays the Constitution.

What can be more surprising, than to see a *Gentleman*, raised to the first Bench of Justice in a *British Government*, run retrograde to the Principles of the *Common Law*, on which our Frame of Government is founded, and lay hold on those of *Civil Law*, which never got Footing in these Kingdoms? The shameful Preference, which this learned and right honorable *Gentleman* gives the Principles of the *Civil*, or *Imperial Law*, to those of the *Common*, or *Populär Law*, is pretty evident from the recited Passages of his *Charge*. That he is wilfully, or affectedly, if not really, ignorant of the latter, and acts quite up to the former, when he treats of Government, will further appear from the following Considerations.

In *Monarchies*, universally *Principum Placita*, the *Civil* or *Imperial Law* prevails, which, indeed, gives the Princes, the Powers and Sanctions, for which our *Civil Justice* here contends: For there, their Kings are absolute Sovereigns, and claim an *indefeasible hereditary Right* to the Crown. Every *Monarch* is, not onely, exempt from Law, but above all Laws; being, not onely, an *absolute* and *irresistible Legislator* in himself, but the *sole Explaner*, as well as *Proprietor* and *Executioner* of the Laws. In short, a *Monarch* is a King, possessed of *absolute, unlimited, arbitrary Power*; a Man, whose *Will* is *Law*.

Now, compare this Definition of *Monarchy*, the Truth of which, his *Lordship* will not presume to deny, with that of the *Regal Office* in *Great-Britain*, and see whether they bear any, and what Analogy to each other.

Our *GOVERNMENT* is declared and confessed, by the greatest of our *Lawyers*, *Legislators* and *Kings*, to be a *Common-Wealth*, not a *Monarchy*. We are not to judge

of the Power or Prerogative of our Crown, by any Thing, claimed or possessed in *absolute Monarchies*, under the *Civil Law*; a System of Government, which never yet subsisted in *Great-Britain*, or *Ireland*. Our Government may, with equal Propriety, be called, a *Democracy*, or an *Aristocracy*, as a *Monarchy*: It is truly, a mixed Government, composed of each of these Forms; and has more of the true *Republic*, in its Composition, than any of those, that now bear the Name of *Republic*. Yet, the Head of this, our *Common-Wealth*, the *KING*, is endowed with all the *Honor* and *Dignity*, and all the *Power*, *Authority*, and *Privilege*, necessary to support that *Honor* and *Dignity*, and consistent with the *ENDS* of the Institution, the *Rights* and *Liberties* of the *Subject*, which stand upon as firm a *Basis* as the *Prerogative* of the *Crown*. Our King neither possesses nor claims a *Power* or *Prerogative*, that he does not derive from the *Laws*; of which, he is therefore the *Creature*, not the *Creator* or *Proprietor*, as some former flattering *Judges*, as well as our *Irish Chief Justice*, would insinuate.

The *KING* of this *FREE KINGDOM*, is invested with a general *executive Power*. But, it is confessedly, *derivative* and *fiduciary*, in no Sort, solely, *legislative*, much less, *arbitrary* or *unlimited*. How then are we to look upon this *supreme Magistrate*, in the *Chief Justice's Light*, as the *sovereign Owner* or *Proprietor* of the *Laws*, when the *Laws* are as much the *Property*, the *indefeasable BIRTH-RIGHT* of the *meanest Subject*, as they are of the most *potent Prince*? and when the *Prince* is as much bound by the *directive*, as the *Subject*, by the *coercive Power* of the *Laws*?

It is not very difficult to point out, among the Kings of *Britain*, one, who acceded to the Throne, by as good a *Titule*, as any of his *Predecessors* or *Successors* could boast. His *Power* was, as well, as *absolutely* established, and his *Person* deemed as *sacred*, as his fondest *Minions*, or *Sycophants*, or the most *servile* of his *Judges*, could suggest; and his *Regne* commenced with as great an *Eclat*, and as fair a *Prospect* of general *Happiness*, as could well have been wished. How happy had it been for this unfortunate *Prince*, that he had had no *false* or *wicked Counsellors* about him; no *slavish* and *corrupt Judges* to poison his *Ear* with *monarchical Notions*; none *infiduous* and *iniquitous Ministers*, as ready to prompt, as to execute *arbitrary Measures* of *Administration*, agreeable, indeed, to our *Irish Chief Justice's Principles*, but diametrically the *Reverse* of those of our *Constitution*? This *King* wanted not an *Herbert*, an *Allibone*, a *Jefferies*, or

or even a *Marlay* to advise him ; that as King of Britain, he was an absolute Monarch ; that the Laws of Britain, were the King's Laws ; that the King was above the Laws, having Power to dispense with all Laws, those touching Government and the Prerogative Royal, more especially, and that his Person was absolutely sacred and inviolable, as his Right to the Crown, was a divine Right, hereditary and indefeasable. — But how long did these Parafites maintain these *Civil-Law* Positions ? — Just long enough to undo their unhappy, duped Prince : For, they had no sooner wound him up to this Pitch, and he had set out upon these Principles, which, if not layed down, were yet authorised, or approved, by his learned and faithful Judges, than he, too late found, he was not *so absolute* a Monarch, nor *so absolutely sacred* in his Person, as they had made him believe. He then saw, that he was but a King by *Compaet*, with a **FREE PEOPLE**, whom he was bound to govern by *their Laws*, not by *his Will* ; that he was bound to *observe* and *execute* the *Laws*, and to *protect* the *Lives*, *Liberties* and *Properties* of the *Subject*, as the *Laws directed* ; that when he had ran counter to, or neglected, this Part of his Duty to his Subjects, the very End of the Institution of his Office, he *broke* and *dissolved* the most *sacred Compaet* between him and *his People*, and, by so doing, *absolved* the *People* from their *Allegiance*, and, of Course, that he had, to all Intents and Purposes, *degraded* himself, *stripped* and *divested* himself of the *Majesty* of the *People*, which they gave up to adorn him, as *their Head*, and so forfeited the *Power*, *Crown*, and *Dignity*, which he derived from, and *held in Trust* for, the *Community* ; which *Community*, as an Example to all future Kings, cut off this their late *mighty Monarch*, and his no less *sacred Comfort* and *Family*, and gave them Time and Leisure to repent of having set up *monarchical Measures* of Government, in free Countries, or to improve their political Principles, by letting them see the *sweet Effects* of *despotic Power*, in a *beggarly Exile*, in *inflaved Countries*. — Was this, at any Time, lawful and right, agreeable to the *Constitution of Britain* ? — And, must it not hold always equally so, in the like Emergency ? — Yet, was not *this*, as much a *sacred Monarch*, and, was not his Person, as *inviolable*, as that of any of our Kings ? — I suppose, our *capital Justice*, notwithstanding his exorbitant Lust for *arbitrary Power*, will hardly presume to answer these Questions in the *Negative*, with, or without, that smooth Smile, that usually *disguises* his real Countenance.

Who

Who then, can take Allegiance in the contracted and abused Sense of our *high Justice*? *Allegiance* is, and can be, no more, than a due Observance of the Law, to which *King* and *People* are *equally, mutually bound*. The King is to observe, fulfil, maintain, and execute the Law, on his Part, with Justice and Mercy; and to this, he swears, at his Coronation, as a Renewal of the *ORIGINAL COMPACT* between the King and People. And the People, on their Part, are bound to honor and obey the King, under the Law, not otherwise.

Now, can any Man, below the Rank of a *Chief Justice* of the *King's Bench*, in *Ireland*, put any other Construction on *Allegiance*, than this, without coming under the Impputation of being a Stranger, or an Enemy, to the Principles of our Government, by which alone, the present Establishment can be vindicated and supported? Was it not, by the just Observance of these Principles, by taking *Allegiance* in this true and natural Sense, that our Ancestors have, more than once, rescued their Country, from the oppressive Paws, nay, from the devouring Jaws, of Tyrants, and their most dangerous Tools, dependent, servile and corrupt Judges? — By exerting these Principles, it surely was, that We were enabled to cut off, or expel, some of those Monsters, which, in his *Lordship's* Stile, were the *sole Owners or Proprietors* of the *Laws*, *sacred Monarchs*, the *Lord's Anointed*, and whose *Persons* were *held inviolable*; by these, We were enabled to get rid of the destructive and detestable Notions of *hereditary Tyranny, Jure Divino*; and by these, We had the national Constitution revived, and the Reins of Government restored and committed to the Hands of a *PARLEMENTARY KING*, who alone can be the lawful and rightful Governor of our Common-Wealths, — with all due Deference and Submission to the *Irish Chief Justice's* strong Attachment to *absolute Monarchy*.

Here, I take Leave of this *righteous Judge*, hoping, I may have Occasion for no further Intercoule with him, until, by the Humanity of some Man in Power, my Character and the true State of my Case are made known to his *MAJESTY*, by whose Grace and Clemency, I hope to be some Time, so effectually fended from the lawless Power of this *Judge**, that I may, without Dread, stand before him, and approve

* Soon after this learned Judge completed these extraordinary Services, with matchless Zeal; he became so odious and contemptible in the Eyes of the Populace, that it was judged expedient

approve mine Innocence and Loyalty, by a fair and legal Trial, in the Face of my Country, as I can, in the Sight of the Almighty. — I ask, I wish, no more.

If any Man can now think the *Disloyalty* and *corrupt Principles* of this *Judge*, as well as his extrajudicial Proceedings against the Author, not sufficiently exposed, let him consult the following Papers: For, more can not be here sayed, without falling too far into that, of which it was hardly possible to keep quite clear, making Anticipations or Receptions of them.

As the weekly Paper, called, *The CENSOR*, was complained of, in Parlement, and presented by a Grand Jury of *Easter Term*, 1750, it was judged proper and necessary to republish such of those, as the Author wrote, and as they bear some Analogy to these, it was also thought fit to annex them †. And to shew, that the unfortunate Author was not quite singular in his *Complaints* of the evil Government of *Dublin*, it was deemed expedient to subjoin, by way of *Appendix*, the *ADDRESS* of the *Merchants* and *Traders*, *Citizens* of *Dublin*, to the *KING*, delivered by several hundred subscribing *Citizens*, to the *Lords Justices of Ireland*, on the 30th of *November* last, and thence transmitted to *Great-Britain*, and presented to his *MAJESTY*, at *St. James's*, the 25th of *December* following. Together, with the Declarations or Resolutions of several of the most loyal and free Corporations of that City, against the *Usurpation* and *Tyranny* of the *Board of Aldermen*; all in the Order of Time, in which they were respectively published, as well before, as since, the late *Election*, or *Imposition* of *Members* and *Common-Council*, on that unfortunate City.

Thus far, with Relation to these Papers, and now, a Word or two for the Author. — He is so unfortunate, as to be charged with the unpardonable Crime of having maliciously exposed, or misrepresented, the Conduct of some Men, long since dead and buried in *Oblivion*, and that, with the sole, wicked Intent, to cast Reflections on their virtuous, surviving Issue.

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This

dient to let him retire, with the usual Wages of Prostitution, a Pension upon the abused Public. And sure *Ireland* is not much to be envied her long black List of Pensioners, in which some of her worst Enemies stand foremost!

† Several of these Papers were inserted by the Editor, in the Publication of which, the Author was neither concerned nor consulted.

This Accusation alone, were it well founded, should be enough to ruin him in the Eyes of the Humane and Benevolent. But, it is so far the Reverse of Truth, that he challenges his Enemies to point out a single Instance of this Guilt.

It is true, he always aimed at telling such Truths, as regarded the publick Weal, without the least Concern, whether or not, or whom, they pleased or displeased. He charged every Mal-administration, on which he might with Safety touch, where it justly lay, quite regardless of the dead or living, that might be offended at the Recital. He related and recited many historical Facts, with the same Views, and upon the like Motives and Principles. But, when he found any of the living, running into the hateful and destructive public Vices of their Ancestors, he exposed the Vices of the Ancestors, whether dead or living, and gave a proper Caution against reposing Confidence in the Progeny of such, as, not onely, attempted to justify, but even embraced, the most wicked and infamous Measures of their Parents, or Predecessors. This, I will venture to affirm, is the utmost his carping Enemies can, with any Appearance of Reason or Truth, charge upon him, in this Respect. And, whether this be criminal, or the Duty of a public Writer, is submitted to every honest and judicious Heart. Though, if he had had the Misfortune to run into these Errors, the View, with which alone he could have done it, the Service of the Publick, at the Expence of his own Interest and Peace, would surely obtain him some Excuse. This, at the worst, must be the Case, if any Credit is given to the following Declarations.

I most solemnly declare, in the Presence of God and the World, that, as far as a Man can say, he knows his own Heart, my sole Motive for entering into, or interfering in, the Disputes between the *Commons* and *Aldermen* of *Dublin*, and in endeavoring to restore the Freedom of Elections, in general, of those of Members of Parlement, in particular, for that City, was a tender Sense of the indispensable Duty of every Citizen and Subject, to preserve his own Privileges, and those of his City and Country, for the Honor and Interest of the King and People, which I have ever looked upon as invariable and inseparable. And, that in all I have done, upon this Occasion, I have had no private Resentment, Pique, or Prejudice, to any Man, or Body of Men, but, to the best of my Knowledge and Ability, labored for the common Good of the whole Community, without

out the least Influence or Bias from Party or Faction. And though some have been malignant enough to charge me, clandestinely, with offering private Injuries to Individuals, I most solemnly protest and declare, that I never did, knowingly, or designedly, in Thought, Word, or Deed, injure or annoy any Man, unprovoked, nor, in any Sense, invade the known Property of any Person whatsoever.

One Thing further is necessary to be cleared up. I, therefore, beg the Reader's Indulgence to declare, that it is not from any Desire to recriminate upon these uncharitable Men, my most merciless Enemies, nor to revenge the severe and irreparable Injuries, they have done me and my Family, that I republish these Papers: For, though I am not altogether such a Worm, as to bear being trod on, without turning; yet, Justification, not Revenge, is the Object of my present Wishes. But my greatest Anxiety arises from the fatal Wounds given my City and Country. And yet, though I wish for nothing more, than to see the unjust Enemies of both, for ever stripped of all Means of annoying either; my Conduct in *Dublin*, while I struggled under the insupportable Weight of illicit Power there, might, I think, have convinced them, that I was so far from seeking, that I prevented, their Destruction, at the Hazard of mine own. And even now, that it has pleased the ALMIGHTY, in Part, to hear the Prayers of that poor oppressed People, by bringing the chief Author, or Promoter, of the heaviest of their late Calamities, to some Portion of that Shame and Disgrace, that his Administration deserved; yet, do I look upon him with no less Pity, now he is fallen, than I held him in Contempt, in the Height of his abused Power *.

Given at WESTMINSTER, the present Place of my Pilgrimage, March 17th, 1750.

C. LUCAS.

* I may be now allowed to carry this Declaration further; I never was nor could be angry with any Man for barely differing in Sentiments from me, when the Difference appeared to have arose from pure Conviction. It is onely at the Perverseness or Corruption of mine Adversaries, I am provoked. But, now that I have lived to be convinced, that many of my Persecutors are ashamed and sorry for what they have done to me, particularly this late great Officer, who, I am assured, confesses his having received very false Impressions, which made him go the Lengths he did against me, I am resolv'd, as soon as possible to forget, as I heartily forgive, the matchless Injuries offered me. But, for the Wounds given my bleeding Country, it is no more in my Power to forgive them than to heal them. These I commit to Heaven.

G 2 To



To the RIGHT HONORABLE the
L O R D M A Y O R,
The WORSHIPFUL the
A L D E R M E N and C O M M O N - C O U N C I L,
And the most WORTHY
C I T I Z E N S
Of the HONORABLE CITY of
L O N D O N,
A DEDICATORY
A D D R E S S.

May it please YOUR LORDSHIP and HONORS !

ADDRESSING your honorable and most respectable Body, in this public Manner, may be construed some Degree of Arrogance, in one, who has the Misfortune to be utterly unknown to You. But, I flatter my self, that when my Motives and Intentions are considered, I can not fail of obtaining Pardon from your Wisdom and Humanity.

The two *Tyrants* of most universal and despotic Sway, Indigence and Custom, have prescribed, Time immemorial, that every Book should be ushered into the World, by that commonly false and flattering Herald, a *Dedication*.

Had ALL-WISE PROVIDENCE judged it fit to enable me to encounter other *Tyrants*, as well as I can oppose *these*; I should now hardly have Occasion to roam in *Exile*, nor should I probably have the Honor of addressing my self thus to the chief Magistrate and most venerable Council and worthy **C I T I Z E N S** of the **C A P I T A L** of **G R E A T - B R I T A I N**.

Tyrants

Tyrants and Slaves, of all Denominations and Ranks, have ever been the Objects of mine utmost Aversion and Contempt; nor can they become less odious and desppicable in my Sight, by my having been bereft of all the Rights and Liberties of a Subject and Citizen, in mine own Country and City, by the lawless Power of the one, or the base and wicked Artifices of the other. Neither am I moved, by the piteous Face of Adversity, made now familiar to me, in upwards of sixteen Months distressful *Exile*, to pay my Court to Opulence, or Power, nor affected by the Prevalence of Custom, or the Hope or Desire of gaining any Advantage or Favor to the Author, or Protection for his poor Performance, even at the beneficent Hands of so worthy and potent a Patron, as the Great Body Corporate of LONDON, which I look upon as the *Metropolis of Europe*, if not of the World.

No; MY LORD and GENTLEMEN, I must, in this Instance, deviate from the ordinary Modes, as well as Views, of most modern Dedicators: So far am I from claiming your Patronage, or professing myself your Client on the common Motives, that, low as Oppression has reduced me, it is impossible, I should stoop to such mean and despicable Considerations.

The Truth is, to answer the Demands of the Public, with which I shall ever think it my Duty to comply; for their Information, as well as mine own Vindication, I have judged it expedient to collect the scattered Fragments of the following Papers, and to publish them in this Form. They were calculated for the *Meridian of Dublin*; but, *Tyranny* prevents the Republication of them there, as it prohibits the Author's Recefs to that City; so, that I may now say, with the *exiled Roman*,

*Parve, nec in video, sine me Liber ibis in Urbem;
Hei! mibi quod Domino non licet ire tuo!*

Therefore, as this must be published, where the Author and his Works are but Strangers, I judged it necessary to present them to some Body, that might help to introduce them here.

I honestly confess to You, that You were not the first Object for this Addrefs, that I had in View. I resolved to lay *these Papers* at his MAJESTY's Feet; persuaded from his extensive Clemency and Benevolence, he would graciously encourage the poorest, well intended Performance, and protect and patronise the Person of the meanest loyal Subject, laboring under Oppression and *Tyranny*, in the remotest

Part of his Dominions. But, fatal Experience had taught me, that to get such an Address presented properly to the royal Hand, was an unsurmountable Difficulty. Therefore, I changed my Resolution.

Then, as the Body Politic, next in Dignity, I naturally cast mine Eye on You. And looking with just Admiration on the many and great Struggles, You have made for the Establishment and Preservation of the PUBLIC LIBERTIES; in which, You did not selfishly confine your Regards to your own City or Country alone, but nobly extended them to the remotest of your Fellow-Subjects; none, to whom I could, upon honorable Terms, gain Access, appeared to me so worthy of a Present of the Fruits of a loyal Subject's Labors for the Cause of Liberty, as the CITY of LONDON.

Give me Leave, then, MY LORD and GENTLEMEN, to present to You, the following Tracts; and vouchsafe to accept, with your accustomed Benevolence and public Spirit, these Papers, written with a Purity of Intention and Simplicity of Heart, and on a Subject of such vast Dignity and Importance, being no less, than the ESSENTIAL PRINCIPLES of the CONSTITUTIONS of GREAT-BRITAIN and IRELAND, with the *Means of supporting and preserving them*, that however weakly handled the Matter may appear, can not, I presume, prove to You, an unacceptable Offering.

Before I attempt a further Explanation of the Nature or Intent of this, my Present, I beg Leave to obviate some Objections, that may, and probably will, be made to your Acceptance of it.

It may be sayed, with some Truth, that *these Papers*, with a DEDICATION of a Transcript and Translation of one of the City Charters to the KING, were presented to a certain *Chief Governor of Ireland*, and by him, and the Courts of that Kingdom, under his Influence and Command, publicly, formally condemned; nay, further, that the Author was made the principal Part of the Subject of that *Lord Lieutenant's Speech* from the Throne, to both Houses of Parliament; in Consequence of which, he was voted, by the Body, that should be the, REPRESENTATIVE of the Nation, *an Enemy to his Country*; ordered afterwards to be proclaimed and apprehended, imprisoned and prosecuted a-new, in the King's-Bench, for the *same Offence*; that an *Information* is filed against him in that Court; that he is presented by several *Grand Juries*, in the Words of the *Commons*, disfranchised his City, and to be outlawed, whenever the Court sees it expedient.

Hence,

Hence, it may, with a seeming Color of Reason be objected, that the Author is rendered *obnoxious* to his *Country* and *City*, and must consequently become *unworthy* of the *Patronage*, and his *Works* unfit for the *Acceptance* of the great, free *City* of *LONDON*, which can never be supposed to countenance any Degree of *Disloyalty*, or *Licentiousness*.

I shall trouble YOUR *LORDSHIP* and *HONORS* no further with this disagreeable Controversy, than in taking the Liberty of appealing to your Wisdom and Justice upon this Occasion, and beging your free Judgement upon the Evidence herein offered to your Consideration. And, as I assure You, I have tried all Means within my Compass of bringing mine Innocence and Allegiance to the proper Test, in vane; I hope, You will not take my Character upon Trust, nor implicitly imbibe the Prejudices propogated against me, as Truth; but, that You will determine the *Tree* by its *Fruit*, upon granting the Author and his Writings, that fair Examination and impartial Trial, which all Men and Works may ever expect in *LONDON*.

As for they *Papers*, here they are; let them speak for themselves. If they were to be as thoroughly purged of the mere Effects of human Frailty, *Errors of Understanding*, *incorrect Diction*, *Poverty of Stile*, or *unguarded Expressions*, as I hope they may be fully acquitted of *Falsehood*, *Sedition*, *Disaffection*, or *Disloyalty*; I flatter myself, the Censure passed upon them and the Author, would make but a slight Impression on your Judgement. And, for these Errors, I hope the Intention of the Author, and the Time and Manner in which they must have been written, will plead some Excuse.

As for the Author, had his Persecutors had but the Humanity, or the Justice, neither to extenuate, nor, by Malice and Falsehood, to exaggerate, or aggravate, the Guilt to him imputed; had they even had the Mercy to grant him the onely Favor he stooped to ask at their Hands, *Summum Jus*, though commonly looked upon as *Summa Injuria*; he could not fear the utmost Power they can derive from the Laws, and consequently should have none Occasion to trouble YOUR *LORDSHIP* and *HONORS* with this Appeal.

But, though he be so unfortunately circumstanced, as not to be able to plead, in due Form, *Not Guilty*, in his own Country; as the Manifestation of his *Lenocency*, must retort Guilt and Infamy on his powerful Persecutors there; yet, he humbly conceives, he can run no risque, in asserting his Innocence, and Allegiance before Men of Virtue and Honor, of free Principles, and sound and unbiased Judgement; and therefore, freely submits his Cause to your wise and equal

equal Determination: For, though plucked by the lawless Hand of unprovoked Power, from his peaceful Obscurity, branded with every Kind of Obloquy, and otherwise most grievously oppressed and injured, in his Person, in his Family, in his Fortune, and in his Fame; yet he fears not, that his Principles, or Conduct, political, moral, or religious, will appear altogether culpable in your Sight: And, though he does not pretend to be the most prudent Economist in Life, nor the most politic Member of the Community; he hopes to be found a faithful Citizen and a loyal Subject; and though, not a wise, a true Lover and a most zealous Afferter of the Laws and Liberties of his Country.

If this appears to be true, I flatter myself, *these Papers*, as well as the *Author*, may, without any unpardonable Arrogance, hope to be so happy, as to gain some Portion of your Attention and Regard. But, lest I should be misapprehended, I desire it may be always remembered, that I scorn and detest, could such a Thing be obtained in BRITAIN, the Protection of any Man, or Body of Men, against the irresistible Power of Laws, to which, I ever was, and ever purpose to be, strictly amenable, or the Favor or Countenance of the greatest, to Actions or Words, tending in any Degree to Disloyalty: For, though I am here,—it is a melancholy Truth!—an *Exile*, an helpless, and almost friendless, *Refugee**; yet, no Confederation this World can afford, not the Redemption of my poor Infants, from the innumerable Calamities, to which my Sufferings must expose them, a Grievance which must prey incessantly on mine Heart, should move me to accept of a Restoration, upon any unlawful or dishonorable Terms. And, though I am well perswaded, that *Allegiance* and *Protection*, are Obligations, which subsist but mutually and reciprocally between the Subjects and KING of these FREE KINGDOMS, and, though I have constantly, uniformly payed the *former*, on my Part, and have felt no Sort of Return of the *later*, since I was robbed of every Right and Privilege of a free Citizen and a loyal Subject; yet, can it not shake mine Allegiance, mine Affection, Respect or Duty, to my Prince.

I would not have it suspected, that this Disposition procedes from any Tendency to the idle and exploded Notion of yielding *Passive Obedience* and *Non-resistance* to our Sovereign: For, as that Conceit has no Found-

* Thanks to Providence and the Indulgence of the Public, especially of the City of *London*! this melancholy Case is in all Respects happily altered.

Foundation in Law, or Reason, so, shall it never get any Footing in my Breast. But, the true and sole Cause is this, that I find myself so unfortunately circumstanced, that the KING neither has, nor can have, proper Cognisance of my Sufferings; a certain late Governor having found it expedient, not only to suppress my Complaints and Application to the CROWN, but to have them declared or made criminal; and, for this Purpose, took Care to engage in his Service, a Faction of the Common-Council of the City, as well as Kingdom, to countenance his oppressive Administration, to prevent a true State of the Nation and City being layed before the Throne, and consequently, to obstruct the Course of public, as well as private Justice. Hence, I hold it most unjust to impute the unauthorised, unapproved, or unknown *Mal-administration* of this or any other Substitute to the PRINCIPAL. But, to this, I shall beg Leave to add a Word or two more in the Sequel.

I should think it unpardonable, to take up any of your Time with the Recital of the *private Complaints* of any *Individual*, did I not apprehend, that, in this Instance, they were complicated with those of the PUBLIC. For my Part, I assure YOUR LORDSHIP and HONORS, my personal Sufferings, however grievous they must have proved, are the least of my Troubles: The Grievances of my Country and City, by infinite Odds, outweigh them. But, however insignificant I may be in my *private Person*, every Stroke made at me, in my *political Capacity*, by the Hand of illicit Power, is a Wound given the Constitution of my Country; for which, I must be doubly anxious to procure an adequate and timely Remedy. And in this, I must think You interested: For, if IRELAND and her CAPITAL should appear to be reduced, from as FREE A CIVIL GOVERNMENT, as GREAT-BRITAIN and her CAPITAL can boast, to *Anarchy* and *Slavery*, while they live under the same common Head, and in similar Systems of Civil Society; give me Leave to say, that I must judge your neglecting their Concerns, as impolitic and unjust, as it would be in You, to see the *Suburbs* of this City in *Flames*, *unmoved*, while your particular Dwellings escaped the *Conflagration*; as it would be in a Man, to be content with *imagining himself secure*, when he saw his *Neighbours* and *Brethren* assailed with a *Pestilence*; or to lull himself into *vane Security* and *Indolence*, upon finding the *vital Parts* yet able to perform their Functions, while the *Extremities* were visibly consuming in a *Mortification*.

H

He,

He, that considers IRELAND in any other Relation to GREAT-BRITAIN, is a Stranger, if not an Enemy, to the Constitutions of both ; must be void of Benevolence and public Spirit, and, in mine humble Judgement, unworthy of the Name of a BRITON. But, private Interest and public Concerns conspire to make IRELAND dear to the City of LONDON. Let me onely recommend it to your Reflection, whether your Estate in Ulster will be more secure and valuable to You, when that Kingdom is under the just DOMINION of LAWS, or when it is subjected to the unjust *arbitrary Rule of lawless Men* ; and then see whether You be bound or not, by every moral and political Consideration, to interest yourselves in the Peace, Liberty and Prosperity of that poor, unhappy Kingdom, and it's reduced Capital.— A Word is enough to the Wise.

I need not, therefore, take up your Time with arguing this Point. Nor should I have troubled You or myself upon this Occasion, were I not fully persuaded, that You retain so high, so just a Notion of Civil Society, that You can not look upon yourselves to be secure, when any Body Corporate within these CONFEDERATE KINGDOMS, of the like Constitutions with YOURS, is assailed by, and much less, when it has fallen under, the Weight of *illicit Power*.

WELL-CONSTITUTED Cities, being the best Form of Civil Society, have ever been found the most firm and secure Bulwarks of POPULAR GOVERNMENTS. Free and powerful Cities may be looked upon as the greatest Blessings of a WELL-CONSTITUTED STATE, and have therefore, ever been encouraged and supported by every PATRIOT PRINCE, and every wise and virtuous Subject.

On the other Hand, no Nation was ever known to preserve her Freedom long after the chief City was dispossessed of her Privileges, or considerably freightened in her Estate. Hence, wherever any *evil disposed Prince* fought the Subversion of the Liberties of his People, his utmost Force was levelled at the greatest and freest City ; well knowing, that, when the capital City is once subdued, other smaller Bodies Corporate must soon fall of Course, and scattered individual Members must necessarily share the same Fate.

It is unnecessary to recite the Histories of foregne Nations, ancient or modern, to illustrate the Truth of these Positions ; our own Annals afford as many evident Proofs of such wicked Attempts being made, under every evil Administration, upon the *Rights and Liberties*, nay, upon the *very Being*, of the City of LONDON.

Though

Though I cannot suppose a single sensible Citizen among You, ignorant of the many nefarious Efforts made to impoverish and to inflave the City, give me Leave, in order to obviate Misapprehension, to remind You, of the intollerable, lawless *Amercements* or *Exactions*, by way of *Benevolence*, *Loans* or *Ship-money*, equal to any *Ransom*, a Conqueror could impose; of the arbitrary *Imprisonments*, cruel and illegal *Whippings* and *Pillorings* of your *Members*; of the *Proclamations* prohibiting all the *Nobility*, *Bishops*, *Clergy* and *Gentry*, who were not of the *Privy-Council*, to *reside in the City*, and forbidding all *Trade* and *Intercourse* with the *City*; then, of the most insolent and contemptuous Treatment given the *Sheriffs*, and the *whole City* in them, and the most unjust *Persecution* and *Imprisonment* of many brave *Officers*, eminent *Magistrates* and good *Citizens*, for none other *Crime*, than the most faithful and loyal *Discharge* of their respective *Duties*; of the *influencing*, *directing* or *obstructing* the *Elections* of the *Officers* and *Magistrates* of the *City*; of the *procuring* a *Judgement*, upon a *Writ of Quo Warranto*, for the *Forfeiture* of the *Charter* and *Franchises* of the *City*, by the most *fraudulent* and *illicit* *Measures*, and upon the most *false* and *frivolous* *Pretensions*; of the proposing the most *base* and *slavish* *Terms*, as the sole *Means* of obviating the *Execution* of this *unlawful* and *wicked* *Judgement*; yet, executing that very *Judgement*, and *seizing* the *City* into the *Hands* of the *Crown*, after having *extorted* the *proposed* *Submission* from the *broken Body Corporate*; then, of the appointing *Lord Mayors*, *Sheriffs* and *Recorders* of the *City*, by *royal Commission*, *at*, and *during*, the *King's Pleasure*; of the *degrading* and appointing *Aldermen* and *Justices* for the *City*, *at Pleasure*; of the *unlawful* and *cruel* *Condemnation*, and the *inhuman* and *merciless* *Execution*, of a brave and worthy *Alderman*, in the *principal Street* of the *City*; to which let me add the *general Outrages* committed in those *infernal Tribunals*, the *Star-Chamber* and *High-Commission Courts*, and even in the *Courts of Law*, then *Strangers* to *Justice* and *Mercy*, and the *worst Enemies*, instead of the *Protectors* of the *Rights* and *Liberties* of the *Subject*, whilst their *Judges* were made *abject Tools*, by being kept *dependent Mercenaries* of the *Crown*, whose *unjust Decrees*, with the rest of the *Measures* of those *anticonstitutional Administrations*, or rather *Usurpations*, were supported by the *R A T I O U L T I M A R E G U M*, *Military Force*. The Remembrance of these, and many such-like Instances of the horrid *Cruelty* and *Tyranny* of some *late Princes*, cannot surely be effaced, in generous Minds, by any Length of succeeding *Tranquility*. If that were possible,

ble, it might move the blessed Spirits of your plundered and murdered *Ancestors*, or those virtuous and pious *Matrons*, their *Wives*, whose matchless Love for their Country, prompted them, not onely, to animate their *Husbands*, their *Fathers* and *Brothers*, their *Children* and *Apprentices*, to exert themselves, in the *Councils* and in the *Field*, for the Cause of **LIBERTY**, but even to offer their *Plate*, *Gold* and *Jewels*, not sparing their *Bodkins*, or their *Thimbles*, a **FREE SACRIFICE** for the *Redemption* of their *Country*, to upbraid You with Undutifulness and Ingratitude. But, this need not be: For, I must presume, that, on those baneful Fruits of the *pretended* *Divine*, and *indefeasible hereditary Right* of *absolute Monarchy*, as well as on the *OPPOSING VIRTUES* of his *Ancestors*, every **TRUE BRITON**, especially every **WORTHY CITIZEN** of **LONDON**, must ever have an Eye, and must shew both the one and the other, in the proper Light, to his *Children*; as the surest Means of preventing the like *Poison's* being *taken*, or *offered*, in any future Time. It will then be remembered, by latest *Posterty*, to the *eternal Infamy* of *these Tyrants* and *their Tools*, but to **YOUR IMMORTAL GLORY**, and the **GENERAL HAPPINESS** of all *British Subjects*, that You have always given such just, such powerful *Opposition* to the *Measures* of all *lawless Rulers*, that You have hitherto been, and I hope, ever will be, found more than *Proof* against all the most subtil *Machinations* of such *Monsters*. And give me *Leave*, to mingle my *Joy* with that of every *truly loyal Heart*, upon seeing your **GREATNESS** and **LIBERTY** established upon so firm and secure a *Base*, by *these, YOUR PUBLIC VIRTUES*, that, without such a *general Depravity* in *Morals* and *Policy*, as must deprive You of all *Titule* to your *natural and legal Freedom*, You may look down with *Contempt* on all *future Efforts* to annoy your *City*; whilest the **COMMON-WEALTH** may exult in seeing her *Security* confirmed in *YOURS*.

To perpetuate and extend the *Blessings*, which the *whole British Dominions* have a *Right to expect*, from the *Greatness* and *Power*, with which *PROVIDENCE* has intrusted You, should be the *most zealous Endeavor* of every *worthy Member* of *these Common-Wealths*: And this is the *sole Intent* and *Purport* of my *present Address* to You.

If it please **YOUR LORDSHIP** and **HONORS** to consider the *Subjects* of *these confederate Kingdoms*, or **COMMON-WEALTHS**, whether *individual Persons*, or *Bodies Corporate*, as *one and the same People*, under *one and the same HEAD*, though

though under *distinct*, yet *similar* Modes of Government, and having but *one* and the *same common Interest*, civil and religious, to attend ; and sure, You cannot view them in any other Light ; whatsoever Violence is offered the remotest of those, under the Protection and Government of the same Crown with You, must not only call to the Minds of the **CITIZENS of LONDON**, the *many* and *un speakable Grievances* imposed upon them and their Fellow-Subjects, by some *late Kings* and *Ministers*, as before glanced at, but, must assuredly make You sensible, that, though their *iniquitous Schemes to enslave You*, have, by the *Wisdom and Virtue* of your **GREAT ANCESTORS**, and the *concomitant Assistance* of **DIVINE PROVIDENCE**, proved, after a tedious and doubtful Conflict, *abortive*, with Regard to your City and Country ; yet, if the like Measures should appear to have been successfully used in sapping the Foundation of a neighbouring, of a *Sister City*, it is to be apprehended, they may, in some future Time, be tried upon You, and with far greater Danger of Success.

Prudent *Navigators* set up Marks to teach others to avoid the *Shoals and Rocks*, upon which some *incautious Ships* have *split* : And all wise Men take Warning by the Disasters of their Neighbours. This Caution, I would endeavor to inculcate, with Regard to You. And, I think I cannot do this more effectually, than by presenting You with the *following Papers*, in which are exposed to your View, in a fair and true Light, the *intolerably heavy Oppressions and Grievances*, under which, some of your Fellow-Subjects and Brethren, at present, groan, without any visible Means of Redress.

It will soon appear to the Reader, that *these Papers* were written in a great Hurry, during the Vacancy of the Seats of Members to represent *Dublin* in Parlement, and while the Author was set up a Candidate in that City, by the popular Voice. The Reasons for their appearing again in this crude, unconnected Manner, are, the public Demands for a Collection of them, and the Author's Want of Health, as well as Leisure, to enable him to reduce them to a more regular Form ; though, had he had Means and Opportunity to alter them, it was judged necessary, by some of his Friends, to let them appear in the same rude and simple Dress, in which they were first published, that the Foundation for the *virulent, unmerciful and unprecedented Persecution* of the Author, may be fairly layed open to every impartial, unprejudiced Eye.

But,

But, however, I hope the Judicious and Public-spirited, who alone are the Objects of this Address, will find in *these Papers*, a just *Epitome* of the *national Constitution of Great-Britain*, the *Prerogative, Power, Privilege, Authority and Duty of the GOVERNORS*, and the *Rights, Liberties and Duty of the GOVERNED*, upon the *legal and proper Principles*, set forth and ascertained; as being the *Model*, by which the *Constitution of Ireland*, was framed and established: In these, You will likewise find, a succinct Account of the *Foundation and Constitution of the City of Dublin*, together, with the *fatal Changes*, that have been wrought in the States of the Nation and City, by sundry *oppressive and tyrannical Governors, usurping and lawless Magistrates, dependent and iniquitous Judges, spurious and corrupt Parlements*; the onely *Enemies, our COMMON-WEALTHS, or CITIES*, need, at any Time, to dread.

In *these Papers*, the exact *Analogy* between the political *Constitutions* of the two *Nations*, with the chief *Cities* of *Great-Britain and Ireland*, together, with the mutual and reciprocal *Interests*, and the inseparable and invariable *Connection* of both, will clearly appear. The *former*, it is true, might subsist, had the *later* never had *Being*: But, give me leave to ask You, can the *one* be looked upon to be *equally secure*, when the *other* is governed in the same *Manner* and upon the same *Principles*, as when it is, by *Artifice, by Corruption, by Force, or by any other Means, spoiled of every Right and Privilege of the established Constitution, reduced from BRITISH FREEDOM, to more than Gallic Slavery? from a FREE CIVIL SOCIETY, to a despotic monarchical Government? to a Nursery of Military Mercenaries?*—Surely, Men, justly jealous of their *Liberties*, and duly *tenacious* of their *Rights*, cannot suppose such an *Absurdity*. Nor can I suspect You insensible that *the greatest Commonwealth was not reduced to Slavery, or brought to final Dissolution, before Corruption took Root, and a sufficient Military Force was established in the more remote Territories of the State.—A Catastrophe never to be forgot in Britain.*

My *LORD and GENTLEMEN* of this great *City*; I can make no *Doubt*, whatever *designing Men* may artfully insinuate to the *contrary*, that, holding the many *former Attempts to ruin and enslave You, and these Kingdoms in You*, in *perpetual Remembrance*, and *just Detestation and Abhorrence*; You must be *actuated* by a *proper Sense of the Happiness You enjoy under the Reign of a Prince, in the*

the calling of whose Family to the Throne, your national Constitution was vindicated, revived and rescued from the vane, yet fatal, Notion of *indefeasible hereditary Tyranny, Jure Divino*; in the Government of a King, who has given every possible Proof of his Love for his People, and his Respect to their SACRED and INVIOABLE FREEDOM; since, even his Enemies must confess, his having ever squared his political Conduct, by the strictest Rules of the established Laws, and his having, in all Points, governed his Subjects *by* and *with* the *Advice* and *Consent* of *Parlements*, not otherwise.

Under this wise and happy System of Government, while, by a just Sense of *Virtue* and *Liberty*, it is kept up in *Essence*, as well as *Form*; every loyal Subject must enjoy his Inheritance, and the Fruit of his Labor, free and unmolested; and You, in particular, must ever be able to preserve your *LEGAL LIBERTIES*, and with them, to extend your Trade and Commerce, which must enable You to cherish and support, as well as occasionally to protect, the remotest *Limbs* of the Community, of which, You are, by *GOD'S PROVIDENCE*, the *chief Member*.

Now, MY LORD and GENTLEMEN, let me beg Leave to recommend it to You, to recollect how many and what Nations, of the same free Form of Government with yours, consisting of *King, Lords and Commons*, making *one great Body Corporate, Representative of the States of the Realm*, as our *Parlements* are constituted, are now reduced, from *absolute legal Freedom*, to *abject and irretrievable Slavery*; then, to cast an Eye upon the several Limbs of this Community, to look but around You, and see whether or no there be a People, under the Protection of the same Crown with You, who derive their civil and religious Rights and Liberties, from the same common Spring, and have them established by the like, or equal Authority, with those of *Britain*; in short, a People, *united*, not only in *Blood and Affinity*, but in the *same common Principles and Interest* with You; if there be such a People, and it should appear, that they had, at any Time, and by any Means, been *deprived*, of the *SACRED and INVIOABLE ESSENTIALS* of their *Policy*; yet, still under the *specious Form and Color of British Liberties*; if the *first Estate* in the Government of such a People, should appear to have been, in any former Time, rendered not only *contemptible*, but *hateful* to the *Subjects*, through the *repeated evil Administration* of it's *Substitutes*; if the *second* should, at any Time, have been made *despicable*, by first *robbing* it of its *principal Authority and Power*, and then,

then, by filling it with the most ignorant and illiterate, the most weak, impious and irreligious Tools of the one Class, and the most lewd, wicked and abandoned Prodigates of the other ; if *Comeliness of Person*, or *Elegance of Dress*, a good *Breed of Cattle*, or the *Beauty of a Wife*, the being descended from some illustrious, ministerial Thief or Robber, common, or political Prostitution, or the fashionable French Motive, *Cartelle est notre Plaisir*, had ever been made, or hereafter should become, a sufficient Recommendation, or Cause, to grant and multiply Peerage, at Pleasure ; if instead of a **FREE PARLEMENT**, frequently called and elected, agreeable to the **FUNDAMENTAL LAW**, there should appear to have been, in former Times, but **one Parlement** called, in a Reign of ever so great a Length, and that the first and all subsequent Vacancies should have been filled by the Force and Direction of a *Faction*, under the *absolute Command and Management* of the *Viceroy*, or *Minister*, or his *Viceroy*, *regardless* of the *Sense and Interest* of the *PEOPLE*, and their **SACRED** and **TRULY INDEFEASABLE** *RIGHT* of *free and frequent Elections* ; if there could have been a *Parlement*, so *unjustly* and *illegally constituted*, and that it should, as may well be expected, have so absolutely *forgot*, *neglected*, or *frustrated* the *ENDS* of the *Institution*, as most *haughtily* and *arrogantly* to *have domineered over*, and *inflaved*, instead of *having served* and *protected* their **LEGAL CONSTITUENTS**, and to *have cringed* and *flawned* upon every *Tool of Power*, that might have been sent to *rule*, or *scourge*, them ; if such *Sham-Representatives* should, as they probably would, have *servily* *complied* with every *Scheme* of such a *Governor*, though it should have been to *sap* the *Foundation* of the *Civil Constitution*, or to have *involved* the *Nation* *irretrievably in Debt*, and that to *have served* no better *visible Purposes*, than to *gratify* such a *mercenary Ruler's* *ordid Avarice*, or to *enable* him to *pay his private or political Prostitutes*, the *Wages* of their *Iniquity*, out of the *Spoils* of an *inflaved* and *plundered People* ; if, in such a *Country*, all *Traces* of *Civil Government*, except a *Sort of Shadow* of the *Form*, should, at any *Time*, appear to have been almost entirely *effaced*, and a *Military Force* should be *universally exercised*, instead of that *Law*, to which *all Ranks* and *Degrees* of *Men* should *pay strict and positive Obedience* ; if, when it may be deemed expedient for *lessening* the *Expences* of the *Establishment*, or for the *better Preservation* of the *Liberties* of a *Nation*, so often *endangered*, or *actually overturned* by *Military Power*, to *reduce the Land Forces* ; *an other Country*, *contrary to express Laws*, should appear,

appear to have been made a *Place of Arms*, by privately *increasing* the *Military Establishment*, and that in Times of *universal Peace*, to almost *double* the *Force* or *Expence*; I say, suppose, that any neighbouring Nation, in *League* with *Britain*, or even *France*, or *Spain*, for Instance, were reduced to these deplorable Circumstances; for, they were once as free, as You can now boast; or, suppose the Case but *imaginary*, and that it were properly represented upon the *Stage*; how would it affect the Hearts of a *British Audience*? — But, to make the Scene yet more affecting; suppose then, for Argument's Sake, it had been layed in *Ireland*; that the *loyal People* of that Country should have been *governed* by *Laws* made *without* that, which alone can give *Sanction* and *Force* to *human Laws*, the *free Assent* and *Consent* of the *PEOPLE*, and should, in other Respects, have been reduced to the *slavish Condition* above recited, — from which calamitous Circumstances, **PROPITIOUS HEAVEN** and the **KING** defend them! — Were this, I say, the Case of *your Brethren* and *Fellow Subjects* of *Ireland*, what *Briton* could be so slothful, so indolent and vane, as to imagine his *Country out of Danger*? — Might You not reasonably apprehend, that *Britain*, like *Rome*, from her more remote Colonies, may, some Time or other, catch the fatal Infection of *Slavery*, and be sooner or later involved in the same common Calamity? Whilst that Kingdom is governed, as it is to be hoped You will find it at present, upon the *same Principles* with *Britain*; whilst the *Subjects* are protected in the *full* and *free Enjoyment* of the *same natural* and *legal Rights* and *Liberties*, to which, they undeniably have an *equal Titule*; they can have but one *common Interest* to serve, and must therefore prove a *strong Barrier*, an **IMPREGNABLE BULKWARK** to the **CONSTITUTION** of *Britain*, should that, in any future Time, be *threatened* or *invaded*. But, should the *LOYAL PEOPLE* of *Ireland*, be once *dispossessed* of their *legal* and *just Privileges*; should they, through *external* or *internal Force*, through *foreign* or *home-bred Corruption*, by any Means, be reduced to *Slavery*, ruled at the *arbitrary Will* and *Pleasure* of *principal* or *deputy Slaves* or *Mercenaries*, is it possible they should be perfect *Friends* to *your Establishment*? — Rather, is there not the strongest Reason to apprehend, that they must become, from being *useful*, a *Nuisance*; instead of *true Friends* and *natural, invariable Allies*, *desperate* and *irreconcileable Enemies*, to *Britain*?

I can not, however, presume to assert, that this is the present Case of *Ireland*. But, of its having been, some

Time, in such dismal Circumstances, there yet remane some pregnant Proofs, as true, as they are melancholy. I am not yet passed the Meridian of Life, and notwithstanding, I believe my much-impaired Memory could furnish some Testimony to the Case in Point, in due Time, and upon a proper Occasion. But, if the Case of this People were really analogous to that I have above represented; yet, under a certain late Management of that Kingdom, there would be no Possibility of bringing a true State of her Case before the Crown, so as to procure a Redress of Grievances. That Kingdom has, more than once, been infected with such Governors, as would suffer none Address or Remonstrance from any private Subject or Body Politic, even from either House of Parlement, to be presented to the King, unless it had been dictated or approved by them; whilst the *wickedest* and *worst* of these *impious Rulers* have always taken Care to *suppress* the *Complaints* of the *Injured*, or even to *punish* them for *complaining*; at the same Time, that they have got their own *weak* or *iniquitous Administration* celebrated for its *Wisdom* and *Justice*, and the *flourishing*, the *happy* State of the Kingdom pompously set forth, and published in *Gazettes*, &c. under the Titule of *dutiful* and *loyal Addresses*, &c. as the Sense of a *wise* and *free People*, delivered in the *unerring Voice* of a *constitutional*, or a *legitimate Parlement*; when such were, in Fact, no better, than *false* and *scandalous Libels*, framed and *calculated* by a *base*, *servile Faction*, to *impose* on the *supreme Governor*, the easier and better to *dupe* and *inslave his People*.

What has been, may be. —— Therefore, give me Leave to say, that this makes it incumbent on every **TRUE LOVER** of this Country, to hold as watchful an Eye on the Administration in that Kingdom, as in this; with the pure, patriot Intent, if it should, at any Time, be found in such calamitous Circumstances, to help it to Restoration, by all lawfull and just Means. And thus, by *preserving* the **LIBERTIES** of your *Neighbours* and *Fellow-Subjects*, You bid fair to *secure YOUR OWN*. —— But to come to a Point, with which I am more conversant, and in which I can therefore be more positive.

By the *following Papers*, particularly, the seventeenth Address, YOUR **LORDSHIP** and **HONORS** may observe, the Analogy between the Constitutions of *London* and *Dublin*. And here, give me Leave to add, that such a friendly, such a brotherly Intercourse and Correspondence has always subsisted between the two Cities, that the **CITIZENS** of *London*, as

as well as those of our MOTHER CITY, *Bristol*, are exempted from all Customs or Duties of the Port, as much as the *Citizens* of *Dublin*; than which, there could not be a stronger Proof of our intimate Connection with, and firm Regard for, You.—But, alas! how little does the Friendship of poor *Dublin* now avail! She, that was to *Ireland*, what *London* has always been to *Britain*, can now hardly be said to subsist herself, more than in Name! — She, whose Loyalty and Fidelity to the Crown, was never shaken or varied, but on the contrary, has always been powerfully exerted, at the Expence of her Blood and Treasure, for it's Defence and the Support of it's Interests, has of late become so much the Object of the *Aversion* and *Contempt* of the *Rulers* and *Judges* of that Kingdom, that she is openly, avowedly *stripped* of the most valuable of her RIGHTS and PRIVILEGES; yet denied all Means of *Redress*, in the Courts! — Her Charters and Laws set at nought! — Her Citizens but nominal Free-men, in Fact, Slaves! — Her Magistrates, Officers and Council, neither elected by the *Citizens*, nor *Inhabitants*. — In this Respect, We are not a Bit better circumstanced, than You were under the memorable *Quo Warranto*! — It is true, We have a *Lord Mayor*, *Sheriffs*, *Aldermen*, and a *Common Council*, such as they are; but, they are not to be looked upon, as the Agents or Representatives of the PEOPLE; being, in Effect, the Creatures of the Government; that is, the *Aldermen*, who are not, by *Charter*, a constituent Part of the Body Corporate, but were originally created, and until lately, always elected, by the ASSEMBLY of the City, now take upon them, not onely to elect one an other in Succession, quite regardless of the *Commons* and *Citizens*, but to fill all the considerable Offices of the City, under the Influence or Approbation of the Government; which has often heretofore been known to disapprove the most worthy, when chosen without their public or private Direction; and, not onely to give a *Congè d' elire*, but a special Command, to choose or appoint *Lord-Mayors*, *Sheriffs*, *Recorders*, *Aldermen*, and *Justices*, at Pleasure; as also, to make, inrol or record, as well as to annul, obliterate or erase, ACTS of ASSEMBLY! But, what makes her Case very singular, most superlatively grievous and deplorable, is, that she is not now allowed to choose her own Members of Parlement; but has the additional Mortification to see Members imposed upon her, quite obnoxious to the *Citizens*; whilst the best of the *Citizens* are treated with the utmost *Contempt* and *Indignity*, by the *Commons* and *Rulers*; the prevailing Faction of which, has

formed a Scheme for building a *Bridge*, between the present City and the Sea, by which the Site of the City must be altered, or removed, *without the Consent* of those, that are, by Law, the *local Governors* thereof, as well as the *Proprietors* of the *River and Harbor*; tho' such a *Bridge*, when built, must have a worse Effect on that City, in Proportion, than a *Bridge* built upon the *Thames*, any where below the *Tower*, *without your Consent*, could have upon YOUR CITY! And such is the *abject Slavery* to which these **LOYAL MEN** are reduced, that *complaining* of, or even *murmuring* at, any of these *unparalleled Oppressions*, is the most *heinous* and *unpardonable Crime*, of which a *poor Citizen* can now be guilty. — Such is the hapless Prospect We have of the Redemption of our *poor enslaved City*! — Was ever *Servitude* and *Bondage* like this, imposed upon a *loyal People*, under a **FREE BRITISH GOVERNMENT**? And who can conceal it consistent with the Duty he owes his **KING**, his **COUNTRY**, and his **God**?

You, **MY LORD and GENTLEMEN**, whose **FREE NECKS** have never borne the galling *Yoke of Slavery*, will be impatient to know, what We did to extricate ourselves out of these calamitous Circumstances. — This Enquiry probes our Wounds a-new! — Let me however answer, that We had Recourse to every Measure, consistent with Peace and Loyalty: First, We sought for Redress in the *City Courts*, in vain; then, We had Recourse to the *Court of King's Bench*; but there, We received an additional Wound, by being *peremptorily denied*, the commonest Right of the Subject, an *ordinary, legal Trial* of a Matter of Property, of the utmost Consequence. Judging a *servile Submission* to this *arbitrary injurious Denial of Law*, or a *Connivance* at this *new Grievance*, to be inconsistent with the Honor and Interest of the **King** and his **People**, as well as *repugnant* to the moral and political Duties of *honest Men*, and *free and loyal Subjects*; We thought it necessary and incumbent on Us, to lay our Case before the then *Chief Governor*. I presented *his Excellency* with the **COMPLAINTS** of our *City*, in Behalf of my self and my Brethren, and had the Satisfaction of receiving all the Assurances, I could expect, of being fairly heard, and effectually redressed; but, to our unspeakable Disappointment could never after gain an Audience, or obtain any Degree of Redress!

At length, We attempted to lay one of our *Charters*, with the full State of our *Case*, before the *Founder*, **OUR SOVEREIGN on the Throne**; but, by this *Administration*, we were

as effectually denied Access to our King, as we were under that of the *Lord Stafford*, and upon the Whole, suffered not much less, in Proportion, than You once did, for petitioning or remonstrating against the proroguing a certain Parliament, then engaged in Matters of the utmost Importance to your Country and City ; whilst I, who had the Misfortune, rather let me call it, the HONOR, to appear, publicly, foremost in these Contests and Applications, in only demanding *Justice and Law* for mine *injured Brethren* and *Fellow-Subjects*, am cut off from the Society ! for, by the *express Direction* of that *Governor*, who produced the Papers, which I had presented him, in Evidence against me, to the *House of Commons*, I am *disfranchised that City*, and *voted an Enemy to that Country*, for whose *legal Constitution* and *free parliamentary Government*, I thus contended !

THESE Circumstances duly considered, permit me to ask YOUR LORDSHIP and HONORS, what People upon Earth are so justly the Object of your Compassion, or whose Grievances can so nearly affect *British Hearts*, as those of your *Fellow-Subjects* and *Friends of Ireland*, in general, of the *Citizens of Dublin*, in particular ? — What *true Friend* to our Establishment, can suffer *such Abuses* to be *connived at*, or bear their being *concealed* from the *Sovereign*, who would, no Doubt, vindicate the Honor of his Reign, by redressing the Grievances of his Subjects, were they but duly made known to him ? — And is it not just and necessary to alarm Men justly jealous of their Liberties, that they may, not only help and comfort their oppressed, though distant, Brethren ; but watch and guard themselves against the *remotest Attacks* of the like Nature with those, that may appear to have already overturned the Liberties and Franchises of a neighbouring Country, and of a Sister City ? — I appeal to *British Hearts*, to *CITIZENS of LONDON*.

BUT, MY LORD and GENTLEMEN, of all the innumerable Calamities, that have beset poor *Ireland*, and her *in-flaved Capital*, there is one, which I think of all others merits, nay, demands the Attention of every *true Briton*. As this is a *Poison*, which is wrapped up in a *Disguise* as artful, as dangerous, and as it is of a most subtil Nature, and of most baneful Effects, I must beg Leave to disclose it to YOU.

No Subjects under our Crown, more readily imbibed, or more strongly or boldly asserted the Spirit and Principles of the *late Revolution*, than the *LOYAL PEOPLE of Ireland*, especially the *FREE CITIZENS of Dublin*. We carried our

Zeal

Zeal for the Cause to an high Pitch of *Enthusiasm*, yea, almost to *Idolatry*. Our Fathers, who had long impatiently groaned under the intollerable Burthen of *arbitrary Power*, were given to understand, that the *Constitution* of each of these Kingdoms, our *common Rights* and *Liberties*, *Religion* and *Laws*, were to be completely *restored* and *established* by the *Revolution*, and could not be effected by any other visible human Means. Upon the Success of this Scheme, they had gained these great and desireable Ends; and soon boasted of the Freedom and Happiness of an Establishment, that made, or promised to make, them, if not *one and the same People* with those of *Britain*, at least, *equal* to them in the *Freedom* and other *Excellencies* of their *Civil Government*. These were undoubtedly the Principles and Motives, upon which our Ancestors, bravely, freely expended their Blood and Treasure, in fighting under the Banner of the Prince of *ORANGE*; who appeared to them to have ventured his Life and Fortune, purely to rescue them, and Us, their Posterity, from the *insufferable Tyranny* of his *Predecessor*. And therefore, overlooking King *WILLIAM*'s having afterwards greatly impoverished and almost ruined the whole Nation, by depriving her, and that *without the Consent of the People*, of the onely considerable Branch of Trade, she then enjoyed, and in a Manner, which has since almost destroyed that Trade in *Britain*; We, notwithstanding, justly balanced the *Good* against the *Evil* of this Administration; and finding the *former* preponderate; We gratefully chose to consider King *WILLIAM* as a *Prince without Spot or Blemish*, a *Man after God's own Heart*, the *GREAT DELIVERER* and *RESTORER* of the *CONSTITUTIONS* of these *COMMON-WEALTHS*.

HENCE, We were, from our Infancy, taught to *lisp* the *immortal Memory* of the glorious King *WILLIAM III.* to assert and maintain the *Expediency*, the *Rectitude*, the *Legality*, the *Equity*, and to *set forth* the *Necessity*, of the *REVOLUTION*, and of all the Measures by this King taken, for founding the present happy Establishment; and, in short, to look upon every Consequence of this *Revolution* as a special Blessing.

IN the next Reign, We learned to be extremely jealous of the Government. And not relishing the Measures of Administration, We thwarted and opposed them in all Points, so effectually, that it was not possible, during this Reign, to gain a *Majority* for the *Ministry* in the *Commons of Ireland*, or to get a *single Member* chosen or appointed.

appointed for *Dublin*, or even a few *Citizens* packed into the *Common-Council* of that City, to serve the Purposes of that Administration; though no Pains were spared to gain these sinister Ends.

At this Time, the *Whig* and *Tory* Parties raged most furiously, and contended, for their respective Purposes; the one to *oppose* and *obstruct* Measures, which they judged *inconsistent* with the *Freedom* and *Rights of Society*; the other to *promote* and *support*, *universally*, *indiscriminately*, *implicitly*, the *Schemes* and *Designs* of the *Ministry*, and that with matchless *Zeal* and *Resolution*, some Times, with *Violence*.

HER MAJESTY's Demise put an End to these Contests. His late MAJESTY ascended the Throne, pursuant to the *Act of Succession*. This soon demonstrated the Advantages of the *Revolution*, and the Generality became so sensible of the Blessings of this *Succession*, that the Remembrance of *each*, is, to this Day, most gratefully and religiously kept up and celebrated in two *Anniversary Festivals*.

Whilst the *Whigs* were contending for the **PUBLIC LIBERTIES**, they thought they could not go too great Lengths in propagating their Principles. Therefore, upon all Occasions, they vindicated the Establishment, set forth and asserted the Freedom and Happiness of the Constitutions of these Kingdoms; wherein the People claim and exercise a Right of judging of the Conduct of the supreme Magistrate, and of appointing and limiting the Succession to that great Office, agreeable to the Ends of the Institution, the *Health*, *Peace* and *good Government* of the *Body of the PEOPLE*. It was now looked upon as the best Service, that could be offered the KING and *PEOPLE*, to shew, that *our Governments* were the *DOMINIONS of LAWS, not of Persons*; that *our States can acknowlege no Member*, that is not *subject* and *amenable* to the *Laws*; that all *human Laws* can obtain *Force* and *Validity* only by being made by and *with the Assent and Consent of the PEOPLE*; that a **MUTUAL COMPACT**, *express* or *tacit*, actually *existed* between the KING and the *SUBJECTS*, between the *Parlement* and *People*; and that *Allegiance and Protection* were *mutual* and *reciprocal Obligations* between the *Governed* and *Governors*. Those were *once* the Sentiments of the *Whigs*; by these and such-like Notions, Men learned to make their Court; and he that distinguished himself in this Way, seldom or never failed of a proper Reward.

If *these Principles* were at any Time *just*, they must prove *so* eternally. If it were *right* and *meritorious* to assert *them* in the Reign of any *constitutional King*, it must continue, not *only*,

onely, right and praise-worthy, but necessary to inculcate them under every Successor. And, if ever the doing so, be made penal, or even discountenanced, a FREE PEOPLE may justly suspect some destructive Designs on Foot, some Project for changing or overturning the Principles and System of Government, perhaps, to overwhelm the Whole in Anarchy and Slavery; from which Calamities, it will be vane to hope for Help or Redemption from mere sounding Names, or the canting Distinctions of Country, Party, or Faction.

What then, is to be thought of an Administration, under which these *Axioms* are reversed? Under which, there is nothing more criminal, than acting upon these Principles? An Administration, which has chosen for its *Minions* and *Tools*, the *very Men*, or their *unreformed Descendents* or *Proletites*, who most violently *opposed* the *late Revolution*, and the *Hanover Succession*, or who now appear most virulently to *decry*, *discountenance*, or *run counter* to these very *Principles*, which alone could have *brought about* and *supported* that *Revolution* or this *Succession*? An Administration, that has made *Whigs* and *Tories* change *Masks* and *Principles*; that calls it self *Whig*, but proves it self, in *Essence* and *Action*, quite *Tory*? In short, an Administration, under which, *Tory Maxims* and *Principles*, by onely assuming the bare Name of *Whigism*, actuate the Whole; whilst the *good, old, real Whigs*, for onely awowing their *once loved* Sentiments, are treated with nothing better, than *Contempt* or *Obloquy*, *Stripes* or *Bonds*? — I hope this will never be the Case in *Britain*!

But, MY LORD and GENTLEMEN, if Matters should be brought to this Pitch of Perverseness and Depravity in *Ireland*, might it not, in some Time, prove of fatal Consequence to this Kingdom — As Means have been found to cut me off from all Intercourse with that Country, I can not positively affirm, that this is the present Case there; in *seventeen Months*, Men and Things are often much changed: But that such it has some Time been, some very considerable Promotions, still subsisting both in Church and State, prove beyond Contradiction. I could point out, were it necessary, several Men, possessed of the most lucrative Benefices, nay, of *Pluralities*, as well *ecclesiastic*, as *civil*, whose personal Labors in Opposition to, or in *Contempt* of, the *Hanover Succession*, still remane upon Record; whilst the best Favor offered the most zealous *Advocates* for, and *just Admirers* of, that *happy Succession*, has been *Indignity* and *Insolence*, or, out of some extraordinary Benevolence, *Disregard* and *Oblivion*.

I believe,

I believe, no Doubt of this Truth can remane with YOUR LORDSHIP and HONORS, when You see the Son of one of the worst and most infamous Tools of the Administration of the Years 1711, 1712, 1713, 1714; the Son of a Man, who, upon the fairest Trial, was disfranchised and expelled the Board of Aldermen of Dublin, and afterwards, *stigmatised by Parlement*, in the succeding Reign, for the most *perfidious, illegal and inflaying Practices*, in his Mayoralty; when You see the Son of such a Man, without any visible or pretended Merit, but the *paternal*, promoted and raised by the Government to the Place of an Alderman of that City, to the Office of Lord Mayor, twice, to the Titles and Ranks, first of a Knight, then of a Baronet, and afterwards, *imposed upon the City*, as one of her *Members of Parlement*; when You see an other, the Son, indeed, of an Alderman, of a different and quite oppolite Cast, by the same Power, made an Alderman, forced into Parlement for that wretched City, *dubbed a Knight*, and promised a Place, or a Pension, on the almost bankrupt Public, for none other Consideration or Pretension, than tuning into the *Court-approved Measures* of his Compter; when You find, that a third, the *undoubted Descendent* of one of the most *iniquitous and corrupt Judges* of the above-recited confused Times, who, for his most glaring *Iniquity*, was *stripped of his Place and Employment*, and *indelibly stigmatised* by the ensuing Parlement; when the *worthy Son* of such a Father, for onely writing and speaking against the *once-approved Principles* of our Policy, particularly to shew, that *Ireland has no Constitution, but the Will of the Minister*, and that that Kingdom, as well as Scotland, for onely complaining of *Grievances*, were both actually *inflaved by the late King William*; for this, I say, and being the chief Agent in persecuting me, for the following Papers, written to *assert and vindicate* the legal Constitution of *Great-Britain*, as well as *Ireland*, is this Man, by an *express Contract* made between a certain *late Governor* and him, rewarded with an Employment of great Profit and Trust, by turning out the late, though a most worthy, *Incumbent*, upon a *Pension*.*

K

And,

How consistent this Opposition to, and the Commons of *Ireland's* Condemnation of, the Principles of the Author in the Year 1749, are to their inserting the previous *Consent* of the Crown, for the Disposal of the Redundance of public Money in the Treasury in the Year 1751; to their opposing and rejecting a Bill with that Consent, in the Year 1753, and tamely putting up with the Disposal of that Money, without Regard to their Authority,

And, if further Proofs to this Purpose be necessary, YOUR LORDSHIP and HONORS are desired to observe, that, though You can hardly point out a Crime so heinous, of which, a Subject may be guilty, *Robbery, Murder, Parricide, Traason* or *Rebellion* not excepted, for which *Pardon* might not be, or has not some Time been, actually obtained; yet, have We lived to see it become so *unpardonably criminal*, so *unmercifully penal*, in *Ireland*, to assert the undoubted *Rights* and *Liberties* of *British Subjects*, under the *Sanction* of *ROYAL CHARTERS, MUNICIPAL and STATUTE LAWS*, agreeable to the *Spirit and Essence* of the *Constitution*, and to the *Revolution*, to which We acknowledge, We owe so many boasted Blessings; that he, who can be charged with none other Offence, than such, as immortalised an *HAMPDEN*, a *SIDNEY*, a *RUSSEL*, a *MOLESWORTH*, or a *MOLYNEUX*, is persecuted in that *his Country*, to *Expulsion* or *Proscription*; and that, when the Majority of his Fellow-Subjects, by infinite Odds, were on his Side; forced to abandon his helpless *Orphans*, though in Dread and Danger of one Day seeing them fall under the merciless Fury of the same *Faction*, that *robbed* them of a Father; obliged to *quit* and *forsake* his faithful *Friends*; necessitated to *roam* a wretched *Fugitive* in strange Countries, under a *broken State of Health*, and in the *Decline of Life*, without any Means or Prospect of *Redemption*, of *Pardon*, or *Mercy*!

But, MY LORD and GENTLEMEN, I must trust to your extensive Humanity, to pity and pardon my Weakness; if too acute a Sense of my private Sufferings, has hurried me unawares from the Point in View, which was no more, than to excite the necessary Caution in You, by laying before You, the manifold and great Calamities of your Neighbours and Brethren.

As no Man has had the Misfortune to have his Meaning and Intention more strained and perverted than I ; it is possible, some may be found malevolent enough to insinuate, that I mean to suggest, that the *injured Part of this People*, or I, who am, by some Odds, the greatest Sufferer, may be absolved from our *Allegiance*, by the lawless Treatment offered Us, and that I would, by this Means, endeavor to sow *Sedition* and *Discord* among his MAJESTY's good Subjects.—There is Nothing, I think, of greater Consequence to my Reputation, than to be rightly understood in this Particular ; and

and therefore, I humbly beg, You will patiently indulge me in an Explanation.

There is not a *Principle* in our *Policy*, which I would more readily assert, or sooner maintain at the Expence of my Blood, than, that **PROTECTION** and **ALLEGIANCE** are *legal Obligations*, which *can not exist separately*, but *do*, and *eternally must, subsist, mutually and reciprocally*, between the *Prince* and the *People* of these **FREE KINGDOMS**; yet, notwithstanding, I hold nothing more unjust and detestable, than to impute the Violence offered me, or any other Subject, by any subordinate Officer, or *Minister*, to the **SOVEREIGN**; until it first fairly and fully appears, that such Violence was authorised or countenanced by **HIM**, or refused to be legally redressed, upon its being duly layed before **HIM**; which is so extremely far from the Case in Point, that I challenge the Enemies of our present Establishment, to shew, under the *Sanction* of the **CROWN**, any Thing like such evil Government.

Hence, I take the Liberty to observe, that, had this *Principle* been properly considered, this Kingdom would have been less reproachable than I find it has, of late, with unbecoming *Licentiousness*, ill-founded *Disaffection* and *Disloyalty*. For my Part, I am not of Importance enough to intitule me to receive, or even to hope to receive any Favor from the **FAMILY** on the **Throne**, but what they daily confer promiscuously on the Multitude. And if I had been layed under personal Obligations to them, mean as I may be thought, I should think it beneath me, as well as the worst Insult to them, to make base Returns in Servility, or Adulation. But, at the same Time, I must declare, that I most heartily despise and detest such Men, as want due Mediocrity and proper Steadiness in their political Deportment. We have lived to see many Men running wildly, precipitately, into all the most absurd Extremes in these Matters: Some would extend the *Prerogative* of the *Prince*, to the most boundless *Extravagance*; others would *abridge* and *curtail* it, so as to render it a mere insignificant *Cypher*; whilst a third Clas through the Redundance of *Perverseness*, or *Folly*, would *cast* an *Odium* upon the *Prince*, for every unjust or displeasing Step, taken by his *Officers*, or *Ministers*, though quite *unknown* to him, or perhaps, in the most *remote Parts* of his *Dominions*; and so, because he may not be *more* than a *God*, would make him less than a *Man*!—It requires some Consideration to enable one to determine which of these is the worst Enemy to the King and Constitution of his Country. But, it is

most evident, that he, who wishes to see both flourish, must steer a different Course from each.

The peculiar Happiness of the *British Constitution*, shines forth in no Instance more conspicuous, than in this, that *Government* is administered by *three joint Estates* of the greatest Excellency, Dignity, Eminence and Power. *Neither* of these Estates, was raised or instituted for its own sole Emoluments; but, *each* was created, founded and established, as the *three* were afterwards conjoined, by the *PEOPLE*; who framed this incomparable System of Civil Society, for the future *Base, Health, Peace and good Government* of the *COMMUNITY*. Hence, all the *Prerogatives, Pre-eminence, Power, Privilege, or Authority*, legally inherent to the *first, second, or third Estates*, jointly or severally, are derived from, and held in *Trust* for, the *PEOPLE*: These are the *expressed or tacit Terms*, upon which all the *Offices* in our *States* are taken and held. These *THREE ESTATES*, and all the *Officers and Ministers* to them *subordinate*, are by every *legal and moral Obligation*, bound to *cooperate and coincide* in fulfilling the *Ends of the Institution* of their respective *Offices, or Places*.

If then, it should be the *Fate of Britain*, to be, in any future Time, as she has often heretofore been, *cursed with a King*, who should forget, or disregard the *ORIGINAL COMPACT* between him and his *People*, and take upon him to *rule arbitrarily, independent of the two other Estates, regardless of the established Laws, or the Good of the People*; We may find, that our great Ancestors did not delegate their Power so inconsiderately, as to leave the *Lives, Liberties and Properties* of their *Posterity*, dependent on the *absolute Will* of any one *Man*. No; such was their *Wisdom and Virtue*, that they have left Us, in more Instances than one, a *Precedent*, to teach Us, in such Circumstances, how to redress ourselves.

The *PUBLIC* is not less guarded against the *Incroachment* of the *Second Estate*, than it is against those of the *first*: Nor can the *People* be at a *Loss* to get *corrupt Counsellors, false and unworthy Favorites or Minions* of the *Crown*, of any *Class*, cut off, should such, at any Time, infest the *Court*.

And for the *third Estate*, the *Security* of the *Public* against *Invasions* from that Quarter is still stronger: This depends entirely on the *Sense and Virtue* of the *People* them selves. For, whilst they have the *Sense* to discern, and the *Virtuous regard*, the *true and necessary Qualifications* of *Members* to serve in *Parlement*, and to *discharge the great Trust* in them *reposed*,

reposed, they must then ever proceed upon pure Principles, and act from the most disinterested Motives; they will elect such and such only, as appear to them best qualified to fulfil the great and arduous Task of the REPRESENTATIVE of a GREAT and FREE PEOPLE; that is, such as have the *honestest Hearts*, the *clearest Heads*, the *most eloquent Tongues*, and the *most perfect Knowledge* of the national Constitution, of the Extent and Limits of the Power, Authority and Privileges of the Governors, and of the Rights and Liberties of the Governed, and have no *Regard* or *Interest* to serve, but that of their *Constituents*. In Commons thus chosen, there can never be a *Majority* against the *popular Interest*. And such must ever prove an happy Balance in the Scales of Government, against either, or both the other Estates, should it be possible they should set up an opposite Interest to that of the Community. But, if Commons, thus wisely and virtuously elected and appointed, could possibly break the Trust reposed in them, should they, at any Time, forget, neglect, or disregard the *Obligations* they lie under, the *Duty*, the *Service*, they owe those, from whom they derive all their *Power* and *Privilege*; Should they perfidiously *desist* and *reject* the *Sense*, *Intention* and *true Interest* of their *virtuous* and *loyal Constituents*, and upon any Pretence, *abridge* or *endanger* the *legal Liberties*, or *invade* the *Properties* of their *Ward*, the *PEOPLE*, by an *anticonstitutional*, or a *wanton and unnecessary Increase* and *Multiplication* of *penal Laws*, or *Resolutions*, of *military Force*, of *Debts* and *Taxes*; should the Commons, in any Respect, *bias*, *obstruct* or *dispense* with the *necessary, free and equal Progress* and *Distribution* of *Laws*; or, as that great, upright Judge, *Holt*, emphatically expresses it, *should they swallow the Liberties of their Constituents in the bottomless Gulph of the Privileges of the House*; I say, if Commons, thus appointed, should possibly degenerate so far, as to run counter to the *Ends*, or even to *recede* from the *unalterable Principle*, of the *Institution*; which are and can be none other, than *good Government* in general, the *Preservation* and *Support* of the *Health, Peace, Liberty and Property* of their *WARD* and *PRINCIPALS*, the *PEOPLE* in particular; can it be supposed, that the *PUBLIC* is left without a *Remedy*? — No; it is impossible, You should suspect such a gross Defect in the most perfect political Constitution on Earth, which is that of *Britain*; whilst *OUR KING* is provided, and perhaps, principally for this Purpose, with *Power to dissolve the Parliament*; which, it can not be doubted, he would exert, in such a pressing Emergency, upon proper

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Remonstrances from his loyal Subjects.—Thus happily have our GREAT ANCESTORS provided for the Freedom and Security of their *Postterity*, in composing a Frame of Government of the Excellencies of all the other known Forms, without any of their Evils ; *Monarchy*, *Aristocracy* and *Democracy* so constituted, as may best serve to balance and to support each other, and to promote the *Ends* of the *Institution*, the *good Government* of the *Community*, without any Danger of *Tyranny*, or *Anarchy*.

ON this matchless Frame of Government, every *true Briton* will ever look with due Reverence, and an exulting Heart. Here, he will find just Motives to prompt him to glory in, and to emulate, the *Virtues* of these GREAT PATRIOTS, that left him so invaluable an *Inheritance*, as *LIBERTY* ; and hence, he must learn, that without a competent Share of these *paternal Virtues*, his *Legitimacy* may well be questioned to the hazarding the irrecoverable Loss of that *Inheritance*. Hither then, let the *disloyal Male-content* bend his Eye, and he must see when there is just Cause, as well as against whom, to let his Indignation or Disaffection rise. Let him not presume to judge of the Measures of Government, without the strictest Regard to *these Principles* ; nor rashly determine aught from partial Appearances. Let him not confound one Part of the Administration with the other ; nor condemn the one for the Misconduct of the other. —Every Member, that thinks the *Community* aggrieved, has an undoubted Right, and is bound in Duty, to enquire into the Nature and Cause of the Grievance, and if he finds it real, should use his Might to procure a speedy, *legal Redress*. But, the *TRUE PATRIOT* will ever be distinguished from the *spurious*, as the *REAL*, from the *pretended Mother*, by this, that the *former* will labor by all *just* and *lawful*, *prudent* and *rational* Means, to *restore* and *preserve the Whole* ; whilst the *latter* will have Recourse to *Falsehood*, *Diffimulation* and *Violence* ; and, rather than fail, will *submit*, nay, *contend*, to have the *Constitution torn in sunder*, to *gratify* his *sinister Views*. The *wise* and *good Man*, when injured, will fairly demand Restitution according to *Law*, before he can think of having Recourse to any Degree of *Violence*. The *wise* and *loyal Subject* will *remonstrate* against, and *petition* for *Redress* of, *public Grievances*. But, the *forward* and *disloyal* will gladly run into *Faction*, and every Measure, that tends to bring all into *Confusion* ; such will constantly *strike* at all *Superiors*, *right* or *wrong*, indiscriminately, either *publicly* or *privately*,

vately, directly or indirectly, and, upon bringing the public Administration into general Contempt, will found his Hopes to overturn the whole Frame of Government.— By these, judge of mine Intentions and Sentiments.

BUT, why should I mention *disloyal Malecontents* to You, when it cannot be suspected, without unjustly impeaching the Wisdom and Loyalty of the **CITIZENS** of **London**, that *such unworthy Men* could find Footing in **YOUR COUNCILS**, or even *within your Walls*? — You will pardon the Digression then, **MY GOOD LORD** and **GENTLEMEN**, when I declare, I am left no Room to question your strict and inviolable Regard to the Constitution of your Country and City. On the contrary, if I may judge from such Parts of your Civil Oeconomy, as may be supposed to fall under mine Observation, I am perswaded, there are Men of as exalted Virtue and true Patriotism in **London**, as ever adorned the Councils or shone in the Camps of **Britain**. But, of all, that a free Subject may see laudable among You, there is nothing that strikes mine Eye more pleasingly, than seeing the Force and Authority of the **Civil Power**, so shamefully languid, in *some Parts* of these Dominions, revived and kept up in pristine Strength and Vigor among You. To avoid offending the Modesty of one of your eminent Members, as well as the Imputation of Flattery, I am forced to omit mentioning the respectful Name of that **GREAT and WORTHY OFFICER**, who lately let the World see, what some corrupt Members thought, or would have thought, impossible, *that the CIVIL POWER was able to execute its most rigorous Decrees*, and, in all Respects, to support itself, *without the Interposition of a military Force*. It is an Instance of your Happiness, that the Fame of this **PATRIOT** may fail of being handed down to Posterity, with that *Eclat*, in which it would have been, had he lived to exert his free Spirit in a Reign less observant and less tender of the Civil Rights and Liberties of the Subject; but, the generous Regard, You have payed to the Merit of this and every other distinguished Citizen, shews, that You can never suffer such shining Virtues to be ungratefully buried in Oblivion *.

Therefore,

* I am sorry to find myself now obliged to point out the Person here glanced at, I mean **STEPHEN THEODORE JANSSEN, Esq;** who justly became so popular as to have been elected, upon the Presumption of his Patriot Principles, one of the Members of Parliament, an Alderman, a Sheriff, and Lord Mayor of the City; yet, in his Mayoralty, declined presenting this Address to his Constituents.

Therefore, it is impossible, that I should imagine You capable of countenancing any of the Measures of such weak or wicked Men, as would work a Change in the present System of Government in these Kingdoms; that I should suspect You insensible of the Blessings You enjoy in a free and easy Access to your Sovereign, in full Possession of your constitutional Rights and Liberties, under a just, equal Distribution of Laws, and in a proper Influence in the framing or repealing of Laws: This would be no less, than charging You with, what I presume your Enemies dare not, a Desire to turn back again to the *Flesh Pots of Egypt*; a Desire to subjugate your City and your Country in general, to the like *levies* and *tyrannical Rule*, to the same *excessive and illegal Taxes, Impositions and Exactions, destructive Monopolies, merciless Oppressions, Disfranchisements, Persecutions, civil Blood-shed, and general Subversion of Liberty and Justice*, under which You wretchedly labored, during the *arbitrary Government* of some late *Princes*, as before touched on, until *HEAVEN* called forth the manly Virtues of your glorious Ancestors, to curb the *Insolence* and to *thrust* the *Usurpation* of these *perfidious and most impious Rulers*, and to *rescue* and *secure* themselves and You from *Tyranny*, by *reviving* and *establishing* the *NOBLE CONSTITUTION*, You at present enjoy a *Constitution* conceived in *Wisdom*, and brought to *Life* and *Maturity* by *Virtue*; a *Constitution*, of all others, the most *complete*, the most *perfect*; which has long made *Britain* the *Object* of the *Admiration* or *Envy* of the rest of the *World*; in short, a *Constitution*, which neither *Tinge*, nor *internal* nor *external Force*, can *injure* or *endanger*, while its *Members* retain the *sense* to *prize* their *Liberty*, as it *deserves*, and the *Virtue* to *support* it properly. Men, blessed with these *Faculties*, which I am *persuaded* were never yet wanting in *London*, will not *suffer* themselves to be taken with mere *ounding, empty Names, and outward and superficial Forms of Things*; but, will constantly contend for the *STYLIC LIBERTY*, upon the *ESSENTIAL*, and *UNALTERABLE PRINCIPLES* of *THEIR POLICY*, by which, they must ever be *able to prize* and *maintain* it; but, those, who are not so blessed, will *forfeit* their *BIRTH-RIGHT*, or sell their *inestimable Inheritance*, for a *Mess of Pottage*, for a *Bit of glistening Tinsel*, or a *gawdy String of Feather*; *Names* and *Forms*, without a *Spark* of the *VIVIFYING ESSENCE* of the *Constitution*, will be sufficient for those, whom *Perseverance* has *blinded*, or whom *Avarice* or *Luxury* has *exposed* to *Corruption* and *ever-consequent Slavery*.

To promote the one, to wit, **VIRTUE** and **LIBERTY**, and to obviate or suppress the other, *Vice* and *Slavery*, I first wrote and published the following Papers in *Dublin*, and with the same Views, I now republish them here, and thus beg Leave to devote and dedicate them to your Service. If they be found productive of any Good to your Country or City, I cannot fear their being acceptable to You; and, if they be not, You have Judgement enough to discern the Author's Intention and Motives, and Humanity will induce You to pardon the simple Attempt.

It is mine additional Misfortune to have mine Affairs so circumstanced, as to require my going into foreign Countries, before I can have the Honor of presenting You personally with *these Papers*. I have therefore directed a Friend to attend upon **YOUR LORDSHIP** and each of the **SHERIFS**, with a Copy, as soon as it is printed. But, fearing, from a broken State of Health, and the many Disasters, to which I am exposed, that I may not have the Happiness of attending upon **YOUR LORDSHIP** and **HONORS** again, I humbly lay hold of this Opportunity, to testify my Regard to **TRUTH**, and my Zeal for the Cause of **LIBERTY**, as well as the high Esteem and Veneration, I bear for your **LORDSHIP**, and all the worshipful Members of the **COMMUNITY** of the City of **LONDON**; and thus, beg Leave to offer You this *Address* in mine own proper Manuscript, and subscribed with my Name *.

I WOULD do more for the **GLORIOUS CAUSE**, had **PROVIDENCE** but blessed me with the Means. But, You must accept the *Will* for the *Deed*; since, nothing is now left, but to offer up my Prayers for the Prosperity of the *whole British Dominions*.

THAT **BRITAIN** may, before it be too late, learn and practise those Things, that concern the temporal and eternal Honor and Welfare of her Subjects, abroad, as well as at home; that her Sons may ever inherit those paternal Virtues, by which, the national Constitution was framed and established, and by which alone, it can be preserved and supported; that every Grace and Blessing may attend the present **SOVEREIGN** on her Throne; that all her future Kings may so fully learn the End and Duty of that sacred Office,

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* This Address was presented in Manuscript the 17th of March, 1750, to Alderman Cockayne, the Lord Mayor, who not choosing to present it to his Constituents, returned it, with the printed Book, delivered to him in the Absence of the Author, after his return in 1753.

that bears the *Image and Superscription* of the MAJESTY of the P E O P L E, and so duly prize the Rights and Liberties of the Subjects intrusted to their Government, that they may rule by LAWS, not by any Degree or Appearance of *arbitrary Power or military Force*; that they may neither hold, nor know, any Interest, opposite to, or distinct from, that of their Country; that the wise and august Councils of both the present Houses of Parlement may prosper; that all succeeding Peers and Bishops may emulate the Virtues, the Piety and Learning of the most distinguished of their Ancestors and Predecessors, in being good Guardians to their Baronies and Sees, free and faithful Counsellors to their Sovereigns, and shining Lights and Ornaments to the true Religion; that no corrupt or corruptible Member may ever obtain a Seat in either House, or in any of the public or private Councils, nor in any of the Courts of Justice; that all succeeding Houses of Commons may be composed of Men, in all Respects, fully qualified for their Places, and, for these Qualifications onely, chosen and appointed by wise, virtuous and free Constituents; that all future Members may ever be sensible of the important Trust reposed in them at their Election, and never forget the Duty and Service, they owe their Electors, but religiously remember and observe the just Deserence due from the *Delegate* to the *Principal*; that they may never be actuated by any Motives or Considerations to utter Sentiments, that may not be justly authorised and approved by the most virtuous and loyal Constituents, nor ever agree in any Thing, that does not tend to the public Good, and to the fulfilling the great End of their Institution; that the three Estates may ever cooperate, as the Head and Members of one and the same Body, in perfect Harmony, for the Maintainance of the mutual Honor, Dignity, Power and Prosperity of each other, and the Health, Peace, Liberty and general good Government of the great Community committed to their Charge, in such a Manner, that their Conduct may always obtain the Approbation of the A L M I G H T Y, in the applauding Voice of a virtuous and loyal People here, and in endless Glory hereafter.

THAT these two KINGDOMS may never be divided against each other, nor have their just Connection broken by any evil Administration; that they may neither regard nor know any worldly Interest or Concern opposite to, or separate from, each other; but that, like the right and left Hands of one and the same Body, they may always equally and regularly minister to the mutual Health and Prosperity of each

each other, as to the common Good and Support of the Whole.

AND, for your Particular, MY LORD and GENTLEMEN of this great City, that Peace may ever reign within your Walls, and Plenty overflow your Palaces ; that every useful Art may florish among You, and that your Trade and Commerce may be extended, with due Honor and Emolument to your worthy Sons, as far as the utmost Bounds of the Globe ; that You may live long and happily to use, not to abuse, the Gifts of Fortune ; that You may ever be sensible, your Wealth and Power can never be applied to better Purposes, than to the Promotion of Virtue, true Religion and Loyalty, and to the Preservation and Security of the Rights and Liberties of yourselves and Fellow-Subjects, universally ; but rather, than the Opulence which Trade may bring, should be perverted to introduce that destructive Fiend, Luxury amongst You, which never fails of opening a fatal Inlet to Corruption and concommittant Slavery ; that righteous *Agar's* Prayer may be fulfilled to You, or even, that primitive *British Indigence*, or more than *Spartan Penury*, may be your Portion.

AND these are the most ardent Wishes and Prayers of,

May it please YOUR LORDSHIP and HONORS !

Your great Admirer,

Most sincerely affectionate Friend,

and

Most faithful Servant,

C. L U C A S.

The End of the DEDICATORY ADDRESS.

Планы НИИАПА должны быть направлены в АМС

swim in the water

Leviathanus longus Linn.

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Digitized by srujanika@gmail.com

C. F. H. G. A. 2.

The List of the Delegates Address.

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